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The Influence Of Christianity On The Vocabulary Of Old English Poetry

BY

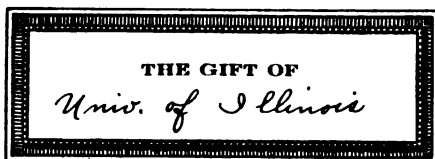
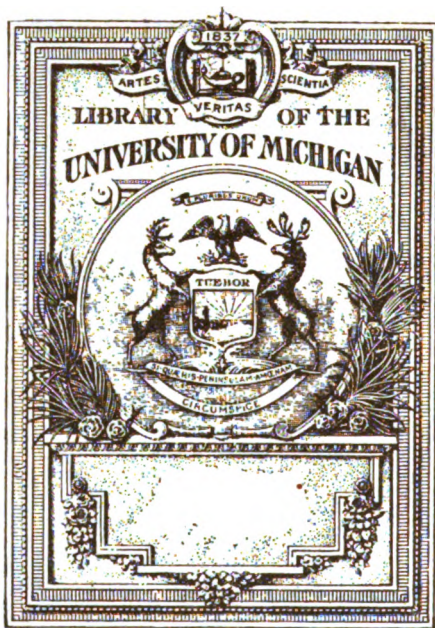
ALBERT KEISER

A. B. Wartburg College, 1911

A. M. University of Montana, 1915

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in English in the
Graduate School of the University of Illinois
1918

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University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. V, Nos. 1 and 2



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PREFACE

In undertaking to present the influence of Christianity on the vocabulary of Old English poetry, we have attempted for Old English what Rau-mer and Kahle have done for Old High German and Old Norse. A similar investigation, but including the prose, was begun by MacGillivray, who published the '1st Half of Part I' in 1902. No continuation has ever appeared, and in a letter of December 2, 1916, the author states that certain circumstances had led to "the complete shipwreck of my hopes for the completion of my book." His consent to take up the work was obtained.

After a careful survey of the field it did not seem advisable to continue the investigation according to the plan of MacGillivray, whose four chapters, corresponding to our first three, take up 171 pages. It was limited to the poetry as the more promising and profitable field. Neither could it be our intention to go to such lengths as our predecessor had done, for the generally favorable reviews of his work point out the diffuseness from which it suffers. We note E. Björkman's remark *Litbl.* XXV, p. 235: "Nicht gerade nachahmenswert finde ich die ermüdende Weitschweifigkeit, womit allbekannte Dinger bis ins kleinste Detail auseinandergesetzt werden. Wenn man alles in der Wissenschaft so weit ausführte, wäre es doch zu schlimm!", as also in A. Pogatscher's appreciative review, *E. St.* XXXII, p. 390: "Die arbeit leidet unter einer geradezu ermüdenden breite und weitschweifigkeit."

From our complete collections we have given in many instances, especially in the case of rare words, all occurrences noted. Otherwise the examples were carefully selected with a view of illustrating characteristic features. Occasionally unimportant terms could be omitted without loss. For the sake of completeness, the more important kennings have also been included; however, in view of their large number and the special studies devoted to them, sometimes only selections have been given. But our lists, excepting the names of the Deity, are more extensive than those of other scholars. Where the Old English poems have a Latin source, in many cases the Latin equivalents, especially from the *Psalms* and *Doomsday*, were added. The quotations from the *Hymnus De Die Judicii* refer to Loehe's edition, while for *Juliana* and *Elene* Strunk and Kent have been used. Grein-Wuelker's *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie* forms the basis of our textual study, though in many cases editions of single poems have also been consulted. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations of

Old English poetry are from the *Bibliothek*, the arabic numbers referring to lines, except in the case of the *Psalms*, where the verse is given. However, references to *Ps. L. (Cottoniana)* are to lines.

As to the most satisfactory arrangement of the material, there may be a difference of opinion. We have been guided by similar efforts in the related languages, and though the plan is not without defects, no radical departure seemed advisable, as the loss would have been greater than the gain. For the sake of comparison the plan also recommended itself, which since Raumer has been adopted by Kahle in his two investigations, by MacGillivray, and for the Romance loan words of Chaucer by Remus.

In the prosecution of the work, especially for checking up, Grein's *Sprachschatz*, in spite of its numerous omissions and mistakes, has been of great value. *Bosworth-Toller* and *Clark Hall*, the latter also for poetic terms, have been very helpful. In regard to etymologies the *New English Dictionary* has been chiefly drawn upon for a conservative statement of facts, as it could not be our purpose to advance questionable theories for the solution of difficulties.

As the great world war affected communications with Germany, and our own entrance prevented intercourse altogether, no literature pertaining to our subject that may have appeared in that country since 1915 could be consulted.

In closing, the author takes this opportunity to express his appreciation of the help he has received from others. Profs. H. S. V. Jones, H. L. Creek, and J. Zeitlin have offered some helpful suggestions, Prof. Zeitlin also reading the galley proof. From its inception to its completion the work was under the supervision of Prof. D. K. Dodge, who was also kind enough to look over the proof sheets.

ALBERT KEISER.

Beloit, Wis., July 22, 1919.

INTRODUCTION

Great spiritual movements as the embodiment of new ideas and conceptions are bound to influence the language or languages which serve as the medium of their expression. Thus Christianity in its attempt to reveal ultimate truth in the speech of man has fashioned to a considerable extent the instrument for conveying its meaning. Either old material is utilized and takes on a new meaning, or a new word is created or adopted with the new idea.

The religion of Christ first finds adequate expression in the highly developed and flexible Greek, a language capable in a remarkable degree of conveying all the finer shades of meaning and therefore admirably suited to serve as the means of propagating a spiritual religion. A fitting vehicle for the Jewish-Christian doctrines is provided in the New Testament *κοινή*, while later the Alexandrian School with the help of philosophy creates a distinctly Christian terminology. Simultaneously Christian ideas seek expression in the less flexible Latin, which, especially in the hands of Tertullian, is molded and enriched by ecclesiastical terms. In both cases a highly developed language with a wealth of expressions and a literature of centuries becomes the garb in which the new conceptions appear.

In a certain sense the same story repeats itself as nation after nation embraces the new faith, though the mental and spiritual plane of converted tribes not seldom necessitates the taking over of many new terms, where the language does not even possess words of an analogous character. Missionaries to the American Indians and to some Polynesian tribes can testify as to the poverty of suitable native terms for the new spiritual ideas. To a great extent the medium of expression has to be created.

Among the Germanic tribes the Goths fall first under the sway of the Gospel, and the remnants of Ulfilas' translation of the Bible bear testimony as to how the great bishop sought to express the new ideas. The native material is utilized to a very large extent, surprisingly few foreign words being adopted.¹ Old terms take on a new significance, and new forms are created where the language is deficient.

However, when we consider the influence of Christianity on the vocabulary of the Germanic languages, we are confronted with a difficulty. Greek and Latin can boast of literatures antedating the Christian era by centuries, and we know in each case the exact meaning and connotation

¹ Compare Weinhold, *Die Gotische Sprache im Dienste des Christentums*.

which a word had in heathen times. Hence the transformation in meaning, or the acquisition of a new connotation, can generally be observed. Less fortunate is the situation in regard to the Germanic dialects, where, with the partial exception of Old Norse, the negligible remains from heathen times preclude such observation and detailed proof in all but rare instances. In Old English and the related languages the poetical remnants of the early Christian period do not fairly represent the actual literature, since the works preserved 'have escaped total destruction only by a series of lucky chances.' If we had only the more important pieces of the doubtless flourishing Christian literature, the influence of Christianity would appear to be much greater than it is possible to trace under the existing conditions. The large number of comparatively rare poetical terms in Old English, however, cannot be adduced as strong corroborative evidence, since many of them may be due to the invention of an individual.²

In their continental home the tribes which later settled in Britain were not entirely ignorant of Christianity. The contact of the Goths with Christian culture and their christianization seem to have passed on a few conceptions and terms to other Germanic tribes, where they gain a firm hold. We may point to Old English *cirice*, *engel*, *dēofol*, and possibly also to *biscop*, as representatives of this class. In the case of *cirice* the term becomes so firmly rooted that the Latin *ecclesia* is unable to supplant it. Contact with other tribes more influenced by Christianity, communication with Gaul, as also the raids on the "Saxon shore" of Britain, in which the wealth and ornaments of churches and monasteries formed part of the spoil, would further add to the Anglo-Saxons' knowledge of Christianity. The few acquired terms are carried along to the new island home.

From all appearances the old heathen religion still had a strong hold on the new-comers. They clung firmly to the traditions of their Teutonic paganism, and the Christian Britons made no impression on the religious conceptions of their conquerors. In the words of Bright,³ "it might even seem that their very successes had hardened them in antipathy to the religion of the Cross." Not even an attempt to evangelize the detested barbarians seems to have been made by the Britons.⁴ Later, when St. Augustine's visit furnished an opportunity to co-operate in the christianization, they also stood aloof. Too little is known about the condition of the Britons at the time of the Saxon conquest to warrant any safe conclusion as to whether Vulgar Latin was spoken to any great extent in the conquered island. Extreme positions have been maintained by different scholars. After a review of the literature on the subject, we may accept as a con-

² See the list of poetical words on p. 132 ff.

³ *Chapters on Early English Church History*, p. 38.

⁴ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book I, ch. 22: *Addebant . . . ut numquam genti Saxonum . . . verbum fidei praedicando committerent.*

servative statement Remus' summary:⁵ "Während in anderen römischen Provinzen, z.B. Gallien, für die Gesamtbevölkerung die *lingua rustica* Lebensbedingung war und daher allgemein gebräuchlich wurde, erhielt sie sich auf der pazifisierten Insel nur in den grösseren oder kleineren Kulturzentren und vielleicht auch längs der das Land durchquerenden Heerstrassen sowie im ganzen Süden und Westen des Mittellandes." Whatever the facts in the case may be, nobody has been able to show any appreciable influence of Celtic on the Old English Christian vocabulary during the period that preceded the coming of the Roman missionaries.⁶ The Christian Britons refused to give the blessings of the Gospel to barbarous idolaters at whose hands they had cruelly suffered, while the heathen victors scorned to stoop to the god or gods who had been unable to protect their devotees against the strong hand of Wodan and his votaries. The result is that practically no addition is made to the Christian vocabulary of the Anglo-Saxons, though one cannot help believing that the inevitable contact with some external features of Christianity served to keep alive certain ideas and terms.⁷

It seems that about the time of the arrival of the Roman missionaries the polytheistic religion had begun to lose its hold upon the thinking men of at least some of the tribes. The circumstances surrounding the conversion of Northumbria suggest that the old religion no longer satisfied their needs, a fact plainly apparent from the speeches of Coifi and one of the chief councilors. The rapidity with which Christianity was adopted would point in the same direction.⁸ Contact with Christian ideas had begun to undermine the old paganism and to hasten the process of degeneration.

Before turning our attention to the Latin influence, we may briefly survey the coming of Aidan and his missionaries to Northumbria, with its opening up of a wide field for speculation as to the influence upon the language. After an examination of the facts it will hardly cause surprise when the Celtic influence is found to be negligible.⁹ With a proper appreciation of the noble and fruitful work accomplished by the Celtic missionaries, we cannot help agreeing with Bright:¹⁰ "His (Aidan's) relation to English Christianity on a whole has indeed been somewhat seriously overrated, whether on account of his rare merits or from the controversial instinct of underrating our religious obligations to Italy." The inefficient

⁵ *Die kirchlichen und speziell-wissenschaftlichen Romanischen Lehnworte Chaucers*, p. 6. Literature on pp. 4-6.

⁶ On the Celtic influence in general see Kluge, *Paul's Grundriss*, I, p. 928 f.

⁷ Compare Pogatscher, pp. 11-12. He also points to communications with Gaul.

⁸ Hunt, *The English Church*, p. 13.

⁹ Kluge, *Paul's Grundriss*, I, p. 930, remarks: "Dass teilweise irische Missionare das Evangelium verkündeten, lässt sich an Lehnmaterialien nicht zur Gewissheit erheben."

¹⁰ *Early English Church History*, p. 160.

organization coupled with the craving for meditation in secluded cloisters, from which the monks emerged at intervals to perform the sacred rites of religion before the masses, was not favorable to a pronounced influence upon a foreign tongue. The steady recruiting from Iona made the mastery of the vernacular at best uncertain, necessitating the constant employment of interpreters. We would not deny the probability of some influence on Old English, but whatever it was, it has left scarcely any trace. *Drȝ*, m., magician, exemplified by *syððan him geblendan bitere tosomne / dryas þurh dwolcraft dryne unheorne*, And. 34, and *sægde* (Simon regarding Christ's chosen thegns) *hy dryas wæron*, Jul. 301, may be due to Old Irish *druí*, but this cannot be claimed for other words.¹¹ In some respects the case is analogous to that of the English missionaries in Germany, of which Raumer says, p. 279: "Ohne Zweifel hat die Angelsächsische Muttersprache des Bonifacius und seiner Genossen auch auf ihre Hochdeutsche Predigt Einfluss geübt. Dieser Einfluss ist jedoch meist so versteckt, dass er sich mit Bestimmtheit weder behaupten noch läugnen lässt," and on the same page: "In ihren Predigten sind sie sicherlich oft genug ins Angelsächsische verfallen. Allein die Hochdeutsche Sprache hat diese Angelsächsischen Elemente in ihre Wortmasse entweder gar nicht aufgenommen oder, wo sie es in einzelnen Fällen tat, sich dieselben völlig assimiliert." In our case we must remember that the two dialects are not closely related at all. At all events, after thirty short years the Celtic influence was struck its deathblow by the Roman triumph at the synod of Whitby, 664, and though it lingered for some time after Colman's departure, it may safely be dismissed from further consideration.

The official attitude of the Roman Church toward heathen worship was tolerant in a remarkable degree. Gregory deliberately adopted it on principle,¹² which some may be inclined to judge more charitably than does J. Earle, who also remarks about the purpose behind the writing of Gregory's dialogues:¹³ "It (the book) reflects the policy of converting the barbarians by condescending to their tastes, and belongs to the same system as that increase of pomp and ceremony which was due to the same motive." It was a deliberate attempt to make Christianity attractive to

¹¹ Kluge, *Paul's Grundriss*, I, p. 929, says: "An keltischen Lehnworten zeigt das Angelsächsische einige religiöse wie *drȝ*, 'Zauberer' = altir. *druí*, *sacerd* = air. *sacerd* . . . auch das *t* von ae. *Crīst* deutet im Zusammenhange mit der eben vorgeführten kirchlichen Terminologie auf air. *Crīst*," and further: "In einigen Fällen mag—bei etymologischer Klarheit—Zweifel bestehen über die eigentliche Quelle von englischen Worten . . . ae. *almesse*, obl. *almessan* dürfte sich näher an altir. *almsan* anschliessen als an die kontinentaldeutschen Entlehnungen aus rom. *almosna* = lat. *eleemosyne*; vielleicht auch ae. *munuc* näher an altir. *monach* als an ahd. *munik*." But the form of these words may just as well be explained otherwise. Compare Pogatscher, 16, 17, 37, 38.

¹² Compare chapter IV, 75.

¹³ *Anglo-Saxon Literature*, London, 1884, p. 17.

the new converts, a policy fraught with danger. According to Hunt,¹⁴ "it seems probable that the heathenish and superstitious practices against which the Church had to struggle so long in this as in other Teutonic lands, would have died out more rapidly if the missionaries had from the first insisted that their converts should forsake everything connected with their former paganism," and p. 93: "Many nominal Christians must have looked upon the religion of Christ rather as an addition to the old beliefs of their race than as wholly incompatible with them."

But scant remains of the heathen beliefs and the heathen terms have come down to us. Bede, for instance, shows a certain reluctance to discuss the subject of Anglo-Saxon heathenism, though he was probably in a position to reveal much more than he actually does. In the poetry only a few of the heathen terms, which would be utilized by the new religion, have come to our notice. A few of these may be taken up here. In the case of *ġastor* the heathen connotation must have been gradually lost, supplanted by an exclusively Christian one. *Ealh*, a word denoting a holy place, a temple, keeps the heathen meaning in the compound *colhstedas*, while the simple term is twice applied to Solomon's temple. *Hearg*, mf., ON. *hǫrg*, OHG. *harug*, is found a number of times, *swylce se halga herigeas* (shrines) *breade*, And. 1687, *onhnigon to þam herige hæðne þeode*, Dan. 181, *hergas breotaþ*, / *fyllað and feogað*, Cr. 485-6, *cwæð, þæt his hergas* (idols) *hyrran wæron* / *and mihtigran mannum to friðe*, / *þonne Israela ece drihten*, Dan. 715-17, *hæðene herigweardas* (priests), And. 1124. *Lāc* is used to designate Old Testament and Christian sacrifices, in the latter case referring to the mass, though originally the term would seem to have had an exclusively heathen significance. So also *wih* with its compounds. *Hūs* never refers to heathen sacrifices, but it is probable that this old Teutonic stem was not without a definite heathen connotation at an earlier time. In the case of *wyrd* we observe that the mythological force has been lost almost completely. The word takes a twofold development under Christian influence, being used in the sense of God and predestination and in that of the fallen angel or devil. Other terms, such as *heofon* and *hel*, receive a fuller and deeper significance.

When Latin Christianity with its splendid organization and its emphasis upon external representation became dominant, the influence exerted upon the language was tremendous. As far as our subject, the Old English poetry, is concerned, it will be mirrored in the large number of words directly borrowed, translated, or closely imitated. A careful count of all religious terms reveals that the Latin loan words comprise almost five per cent.¹⁵ Here of course the several hundred Biblical proper names, which have entered Old English through Latin, are not included. The importance

¹⁴ *The English Church*, p. 33.

¹⁵ See list of Loan Words and Hybrids on p. 138 f.

of the Latin loan words, however, is greater than the numbers indicate. Partly at least the adopted words are terms for the more striking external features of Christianity, though those for spiritual conceptions are not lacking. Naturally in some cases certain manifestations of Christianity were so foreign to the heathen mind that no appropriate native terms could be utilized.

However, in the great majority of cases native material has been used, though not seldom the Latin term is either translated or closely imitated. *Hālig gāst, hellewīte, ānboren, āncenned, efenēce, efenwesende, ānnes, prȳnes, bēc, gewritu, æfenlāc*, and others belong here. In such terms the triumph of Christianity over the old beliefs is clearly mirrored. The original meaning of ethical designations could be modified and the expressions serve in a new capacity. Here belong a number of words referring to virtue, such as *milde*, which at first probably meant liberal in a secular sense, while later it assumed also a distinctly religious connotation. In this case, as also in that of *lufu*, a new religious meaning is added to the old secular one, which is kept. The native terms for sin and sinful states are extremely numerous, which would of course, as Abbetmeyer has pointed out,¹⁶ indicate a deep sense of man's moral perversity; we note that these expressions are almost without exception native, and this seems to give support to the assumption that the ethical ideas of the heathen Anglo-Saxon tribes were not on such a low plane as some would have us believe. Though the 'Teutonic mind had of course no conception of innate moral weakness,'¹⁷ a point of departure for the expression of the loftier conceptions of Christianity must have existed. This must be firmly maintained against the opinions of those who hold the heathen Anglo-Saxons destitute of every 'virtue' except courage.¹⁸

The new religion was taken into the life of the people, and in many respects adapted to their mode of thinking. As Ferrell¹⁹ well remarks: "God, angels and devils become Teutonic heroes with all the virtues and vices of the same, and Heaven and hell show well-marked traces of the Anglo-Saxon way of thinking before the introduction of Christianity. As the poets draw the Christian religion as well as all that belongs to it within the horizon that bounds their own life, it becomes to them and their hearers a real religion—a Germanic religion—to which they can devote themselves body and soul, inasmuch as they can feel that it is thoroughly their own." In spite of the fact that Teutonic influence is not seldom invoked where other factors must be taken into account, this molding of the Christian ideas plays a large part. To cite a few instances. As cruci-

¹⁶ *Poetical Motives*, p. 36.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁸ Compare chapter on Sin, 329 ff.

¹⁹ *Teutonic Antiquities*, p. 8.

fixion is unknown to the Anglo-Saxons, *galga* not seldom serves as a designation for the cross. Christ is the people's king, viewed as the guardian of his adherents and the dispenser of bountiful gifts, an idea very dear to the minds of the men. The wholly new thought of a strong and powerful Redeemer made a very strong appeal to the Germanic imagination. In some of the poems, notably *Christ*, his eminence is all-overshadowing, while the Godhead and God the Father play a minor rôle. In poems dealing with Old Testament history and even in the *Psalms* Christ is introduced almost as a matter of course. After an examination of all the poetry one cannot get rid of the feeling that terms applied to the Godhead may often more specifically refer to Christ. Not seldom he appears where one would not expect his presence. We note two passages in the paraphrasing of the Lord's Prayer, which may indicate the difficulty of distinguishing between the persons of the Trinity if clear statements as in this case do not occur. In elaborating *Qui es in celis*, the poet tells L. Prayer III, 12, that the angels *clypiað to Criste*, while L. Prayer II, 1-5 runs, *Pater noster, qui es in celis. / Fæder manncynnes, frofres ic þe bidde, / halig drihten, þu ðe on heofonum eart; / Sanctificetur nomen tuum, / þæt sy gehalgod, hygecræftum fæst, / þin nama nu ða, neriende Crist, / in urum ferhðlocan fæste gestaðelod*. At times the Son is even identified with the Father and the Holy Ghost or is called Son and Father at the same time. These and other daring statements must not be interpreted as heresy, as they are nothing more than expressions of the emphasis or overemphasis placed upon Christ. And to call, for instance, Melchisedec a bishop and the three youths in the fiery furnace masspriests, is simply due to unhistorical thinking and to local color. So the appearance of the apostles, martyrs, etc., as retainers of the heavenly king, is nothing more than an uncritical application of the Anglo-Saxon political system to other nations and conditions. The idea of the Christian as servant, *þēow*, was less sympathetic, though it occurs. As to the former idea, the spiritual warfare described in the Bible, the Latin designation of the faithful as *miles Christi*, and similar terms, would furnish the poet a welcome suggestion for further elaboration and invention.

The great number of kennings for religious conceptions would seem to call for a brief discussion. That metrical necessities and alliteration account for many, is without doubt. In Bode's words,²⁰ "Kenningar . . . dienen namentlich zum Flicker, zum Weiterkommen." Rankin well illustrates this in regard to the variations from the Latin pattern, giving terms which actually occur.²¹ "For such variation, the chief causes lay in the demands of alliteration and metre in Anglo-Saxon verse. For example, instead of *dryhten* in the common phrase *weoroda dryhten* (dominus exer-

²⁰ *Kenningar*, p. 14.

²¹ *Kennings*, VIII, p. 396 f.

cituum) an author might need a word beginning with *sc* and so substitute *scyppend*, making a new phrase *weoroda scyppend*, or he might need a word beginning with *w* and substitute *wealdend* or *wuldorcyning*, producing the new phrases *weoroda wealdend* or *weoroda wuldorcyning*; or instead of *dryhten* in the phrase *engla dryhten* (*dominus angelorum*) he might need a word beginning with *b* and substitute *brego*, or a word beginning with *w* and substitute *weard* if he desired one syllable or *wealdend* if he desired two; or, instead of *cyning* in the phrase *wuldres cyning* (*rex gloriae*) he might need a word beginning with a vowel and substitute *agend*; or, instead of *dryhten* in the phrase *ece dryhten*, he might need a word with *w* and substitute *wealdend*."

This general method is of course just as applicable where the poet had no Latin pattern before him. The kennings employed are not felt by the poet in their original meaning, being applied in a purely conventional fashion. Often they are not only not appropriate, but decidedly out of place. So *se eadega wer* serves Gen. 1562 as a designation for the intoxicated Noah, 2232 for Abraham who has intercourse with Hagar; regarding the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah it is said, 1924-6, *oð þæt nergend god / for wera synnum wylme gesealde / Sodoman and Gemorran, sweartan lige*, and Sat. 85-6 the words are put into the mouth of Satan, *ic wolde towerpan wuldres leoman, / bearn helendes*. In Elene 846 the author thoughtlessly speaks of *sigebeamas*. III., the crosses of the two thieves being included, etc.

As to the origin of the kennings there may be a difference of opinion. Rankin thinks that "for the great majority of terms for religious conceptions . . . there can be no doubt as to Latin origins."²² Undoubtedly Latin exerted a powerful influence in shaping the religious vocabulary of Old English poetry, as the terms from the *Psalms* and from poems patterned after the Latin show, though the poets do not follow the original slavishly. But Rankin goes too far in his emphasis upon the Latin influence by ascribing such kennings as *cyning*, *dryhten*, *helm*, *weard*, *hyrde*, and a host of others to Latin, and by suspecting a Latin source for almost any kenning that occurs, though he might be unable to find the Latin equivalent. Such an assumption denies on insufficient grounds initiative and imagination to the Anglo-Saxon poets. We heartily subscribe to his less daring statements, "that such a classification of kennings as borrowed, native, and common Germanic, is necessarily simply tentative and a matter of probabilities,"²³ that "a Latin equivalent does not in every instance necessarily mean a direct Latin source,"²⁴ and that he does not maintain "that in every case where an exact equivalent does occur the Anglo-Saxon kenning is necessarily derived from the Latin and could not possibly have

²² *Ibid.* p. 358.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 366.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, as above.

had an independent origin."²⁵ However, in his detailed discussion he often becomes dogmatic, seemingly forgetting the principles he himself has laid down. Though it would be folly to underestimate the tremendous Latin influence, Bode²⁶ not inappropriately speaks about "den geringen unanzweifelbaren Ergebnissen, die die Litteraturgeschichte von derartigen Vergleichen bisher gehabt hat, wiewohl doch so viele Litteraturhistoriker von einem krankhaften Eifer befallen sind, mit Hülfe der beliebten, aber unsicheren Methode, aus Ähnlichkeiten auf Einwirkungen zu schliessen, überall neue Entdeckungen zu machen."

But whether borrowed or native, whether molded or newly formed, the extremely large number of religious terms in the poetry shows conclusively the great part the new religion played in the life of the Anglo-Saxons. Christianity with its solution of the problems connected with life and the hereafter had once more won over virile Teutonic tribes. And a people that could glory in the learning of Bede and Alcuin, did not lack poets to set forth the anxieties, the aspirations, and the hopes imparted by the new religion. In the remains of that poetry we find mirrored the consciousness of sin and guilt, the firm trust in the powerful Redeemer, the world-weariness and melancholy yearning for a future life with its pleasures and blessings—in short, all the important features and ideas connected with Christianity. How these conceptions found expression in the poetry, and to what extent the terms were employed, the following pages will show.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 367.

²⁶ *Kenningar*, p. 22 f.

CHAPTER I

DIVISION OF THE HUMAN RACE

I. THE NON-CHRISTIANS

1. To the non-Christians belong, together with heathen nations, also the Jews. The most common designation of them is *Judēas*, the plural being in accordance with the OE. use of folknames, while the singular is not found. The term goes back to the stem of Latin *Judaeus*, which originally was applied to a Hebrew of the kingdom of Judah, but later assumed a wider meaning.¹ Examples of the OE. term are comparatively frequent, the use being illustrated by such passages as *þone Judeas ongietan ne mehtan*, Cr. 637, *Judea cynn*, And. 560, *mid Judeum geomor wurde*, 1408, *geond Judeas*, El. 278, which latter poem mentions them a number of times. The term *Israēl*, *Israhēl*, m., is also applied to them, for instance Ex. 198, 265, etc. Among other terms and designations encountered may be noted such as *weras Ebrēa*, El. 287, *mid Ebrēum*, Wids. 83, *weras Ebrēsce*, El. 559, *we Ebrēisce æ leornedon*, 397, as also *on Ebrisc spræc*, 724.

2. As to Jewish sects, they are not mentioned in the poetry, though we have in the passage *þær bisceopas and boceras / and ealdormenn æht besæton / mæðelhægende*, And. 607-9, a reference to the scribes in *bōceras*, a word of somewhat wide meaning, as illustrated by *Ða hæfde Daniel dom micelne, / blæd in Babilonia mid bocerum*, Dan. 164, *Sume boceras / weorþað wisfaste*, Fates 71, while Durham 14 we hear of *ðe breoma bocera Beda*. In the passage quoted from *Andreas*, the priests or highpriests and the elders are referred to in *bisceopas* and *ealdormenn*. *Ūðwita*, scribe, learned in the Law, we find El. 473, *þonne uðweotan æht bisæton*. *Ælārend*, El. 506, seems to be a general term.

3. In Christian Latin the non-Christians were designated by the terms *gentes*, *gentiles*, *pagani*, and *ethnici*.² The last word was taken over by the Vulgate from Greek *ἔθνη* (e.g. Matt. 6, 7), while *gentes* renders *τὰ ἔθνη*. The word *pagani* does not appear in the Vulgate, being used in a specific Christian sense first in the 4th century, the original meaning of *paganus*, villager, rustic, having shaded into that of pagan, heathen, as Christianity became the religion of the towns while in the rural districts the ancient deities were still worshipped.

¹ NED.

² Raumer, p. 285 f. For this chapter compare Raumer, p. 285 ff., for ON. Kahle, I, 321 ff., II, 97-9.

4. In OE. poetry the term heathen is generally rendered by *hæðen*, m., the form in OHG. being *heidan*, and in ON. *heiðinn*. In all the Germanic languages this word is used in the sense of non-Christian, pagan, and it is assumed that the term was first thus employed by the Goths and thence passed to the other Germanic tribes. This view is supported by the occurrence of the fem. form *haiþnō*, Mark 7, 26, in Ulfilas' translation. The term is generally supposed to go back to Gothic *haiþi*, heath, the derived word being a loose rendering of the Latin *paganus*, though difficulties both chronological and etymological remain.³

5. As in prose, the term *hæðen* is comparatively frequent in OE. poetry, being used both as an adjective and a substantive, as will appear from the examples quoted. The word is variously employed. Thus in contrast to the Christians, as in *hæpenra hyht*, Beow. 179, where the evidently heathen Danes seek help against the terrible Grendel by sacrificing and praying to their idols. The Danes were sometimes designated simply as heathen, illustrated for instance by *feallan sceolon / hæpene æt hilde*, Maldon 55, *hæðene scealcas*, 181, also in *Denum wæron / æror, under Norðmannum nede gebæded / on hæpenum hæfteclammum / lange þrage*, Chr. II, 10, the now Christian Anglo-Saxons feeling the heavy hand of the heathen Norse. The Huns are called heathen in El. 126, *hæðene grungon, / feollon friðelease*, which is the regular designation of the Mermedonians in *Andreas*, as 1124, 1144, etc., etc. Maximianus is called *hæpen hildfruma*, Jul. 7; *hæðne wæron begen, / synnum seoce*, 64, is said of Helisius and Juliana's father, the former also being thus designated 533, etc. The contrast between the Christian and the heathen is brought out in passages such as Gn. Ex. 132, *husl (is fitting) halgum men, hæpnum synne*, also Sat. 268, where Satan takes charge of the unregenerated, *ah ic be hondum mot hæþenne scealc / gripan to grunde, godes andsacan*, as also Cr. 705, *þa seo circe her / æfyllendra eahnysses bad / under hæpenra hyrda gewealdum*, pertaining to the persecution of the Christian Church.

6. Sometimes the author takes the Jewish point of view and styles the opponents of the chosen people heathen. Thus in passages of *Judith*, as 98, 179, referring to Holofernes, to whom the epithet *þone hæðenan hund* is applied 110. The Israelites have to endure *hæðenra hosp* (of the Assyrians) in 216. The term is further applied to Nebuchadnezzar Dan. 203, 434, 540, etc., to the Babylonians 307, 330, etc., *hæðne þeode* 181, while the term *hæðne leode* is used for them Az. 162. In Gen. 2416 we have *hæðnum folce*, and 2483 *hæðne heremæcgas* applied to the people of Sodom. However, the use of the term depends very much upon the circumstances and the particular viewpoint of the author, for in El. 1075 reference is made to the Jews, *on þa ahangen wæs hæðenum folcum / gasta geocend*, as also Sat.

³ See article *heathen* in *NED*. Compare also MacG., p. 14.

540, *þec gelegdon on laðne bend / hæþene mid hondum*, who are thus branded as heathen.

7. *Hæðen* may be applied in various ways, serving to designate the hoarded gold in *Beow.* 2216, *gefeng / hæðnum horde*, and 2276, *þær he hæðen gold / warað wintrum froð*, and also referring to Grendel in 986, *hæþenes handspora*, and 852, *in fenfreoðo feorh alegde, / hæðene sawle*. In *Jul.* 536 even the devil is called by that name, (*Heo þæt deofol teah*) *halig hæþenne*, an appellation not as strange as it may seem when we compare such a passage as *Jud.* 61, *Gewat ða se deofulcunda* (Holofernes), *Dan.* 750, *ge deoflu*, (Babylonians), *And.* 43, *sippan deofles þegnas / geascodon æðelinges sið* (Mermedonians). The line was evidently not always sharply drawn, room being left for metaphorical application.

8. A number of compounds occur, of which *hæðendōm*, the state of being a heathen, properly belongs here. There is only one occurrence of the term in poetry, *Dan.* 221, and here it is contrasted to the worship of Jehovah, the state of belonging to the chosen people. *Hæðencynninga* occurs *Dan.* 54, applied to Nebuchadnezzar and his vassals, while the people of Sodom and Gomorrah are called *hæðencynn* *Gen.* 2546. Words like *hæðengiold* and *hæðenweoh* as well as similar terms will be treated in chapter VIII, 325.

9. Another term denoting heathen is the plural of *þeod*, f., people, which we find in the *Psalms*. We note, *geond þeode (in gentibus)*, *LVI*, 11, *þeoda him ondrædað þinne egesan (Turbabuntur gentes)*, *LXIV*, 8, *þy læs æfre cweðan oðre þeoda, hæðene herigeas (Ne forte dicant in gentibus)*, *LXXVIII*, 10, *ealle þeode (patriae gentium)*, *XCV*, 7, *Beoð deofolgyld dysigra þeoda gold and seolfur (Simulacra gentium argentum et aurum)*, *CXXXIV*, 15.

II. THE CHRISTIANS

10. The other part of the human race is composed of the Christians, the adherents of Christ. In *Acts* 11, 26 we read that the disciples of Christ were first called *χριστιανοί* in Antioch. This was taken over by Latin as *christiani*. The OE. term is *cristen*, derived from *Crist*; in OHG. appear *christan*, *christāni*, and *christanō*, while in ON. we find *kristenn*, probably influenced by the OE., or the Middle High German form *kristen*. In the scanty Gothic literature the word does not occur, though we have there the name *Xristus*.

11. While in OE. prose the term is of frequent occurrence,⁴ both as an adjective and as a substantive, only nine examples have been encountered

⁴ MacG., p. 20.

by me in the poetry. The use of the adjective we find in *Forðon hine on cyrcean cristenes folces / hean ahebbað (in ecclesia plebis)*, Ps. CVI, 31, *cristenum folce*, El. 988, *þæs latteowes larum hyrdon, / cristenum þeawum*, 1210, *cwealde Cristne men*, Jul. 5, *ealle, þa ðe cunnon cristene þeawas*, Dox. 28, *cristene bec*, 37. Of the substantive use only three examples occur, *Cristenra weox / word and wisdom*, And. 1677, *þær hie (the Jews) hit for worulde wendan meahton, / Cristenra gefean*, El. 979, and *Be ðam frignan ongan / Cristenra cwen (Elene)*, 1068.

12. As in prose, terms like *gelæafful*, *sōðfæst*, etc., occur as designations of Christians, but these will be treated later. No compound of *cristen* is found in the poetry.

13. From *cristen* is derived the verb *cristnian*, which in prose renders the Latin *catechizare*, signifying primarily the *prima signatio* of the catechumens as distinguished from baptism proper.⁵ The term in question occurs only once in the poetry, and there may have the meaning to make a Christian or to baptize, (*water*) *cristnað and clænsað cwicra manigo*, Sal. 395.

14. All believers are gathered into the Church, the whole body of the Christians, for which OE. prose and poetry alike use *cirice*, *circe*, *cyrce*, f., a term also applied to the church building, which was probably the original meaning. The word also occurs in other Germanic languages, as *chirihha* and variants in OHG., *kirika*, *kerika*, in OS., the ON. form being *kirikia*, *kyrkja*, very probably going back to OE., all from the common Westgerm. stem **kīrika*.

15. It is now generally accepted that the Westgerm. term goes back to the Greek *κυριακόν* or *κυριακά*, (belonging to the Lord), which from the 3rd century at least came to be used as a name for the Christian house of worship, Constantine afterwards calling several churches built by him *κυριακά*. Walafrid Strabo (d. 849) first discussed the question involved,⁶ and having given the Greek derivation, asked: *qua occasione ad nos vestigia haec greccitatis advenerint?* He pointed to the Germanic mercenaries in the service of the Roman Empire and particularly referred to the Goths in the Greek provinces. But in the extant Gothic literature we have no word derived from the Greek *κυριακόν* or *κυριακά*, the Gothic rendering of the New Testament *ἐκκλησία* being *aiþklēsjo*; however, as it does not designate the place of public worship, but the Christian society or assembly, a Gothic representative of Gr. *κυριακόν* or *κυριακά* may be assumed. Other avenues of entrance have been suggested, as for instance the early penetration of

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21, note 2.

⁶ *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum*; Kluge, *Gotische Lehnworte*, p. 126.

Christianity from the Rhone valley into that of the upper Rhine, but, as the *NED.* points out,⁷ "it is by no means necessary that there should have been a single *kirika* in Germany itself; from 313 onward, Christian churches with their sacréd vessels and ornaments were well known objects of pillage to the German invaders of the Empire: if the first with which these made acquaintance, wherever situated, were called *κυριακά*, it would be quite sufficient to account for their familiarity with the word. The Angles and Saxons had seen and sacked Roman and British churches in Gaul and Britain for centuries before they had them of their own, and, we have every reason to believe, had known and spoken of them as *cirican* during the whole of that period." For "long before they became Christians, the Germans were naturally acquainted with, and had names for, all the striking phenomena of Christianity, as seen in the Roman provinces and the missions outside."

16. However, while the term *kirika* originally was applied to the building, it came to be used for the Latin *ecclesia* in all its senses. The L. term goes back to the Gr. *ἐκκλησία*, meaning etymologically the body of the *ἐκκλητοί*, a name given by Solon to the public formal assembly of the Athenian people, and later used for similar gatherings of other Greek cities. "By the LXX it is used to translate the Hebrew *קהל*, the 'congregation' or assembly of Israel met before the Lord, or conceived in their relation to him. In the N.T. the word has a twofold sense: a. (after the LXX.) the whole congregation of the faithful, the Christian Society, conceived of as one organism, the body of Christ; b. (after classical Gr.) a particular local assembly of Christ's enfranchised met for solemn purposes."⁸ Other meanings were gradually added: the word came to be applied to the meeting house as well as to the outward organization of the congregation of the faithful, used in various shades of meaning. Among the Teutonic peoples *kirika* was employed as the naturalized equivalent of L. *ecclesia*.

17. As stated before, *cirice* appears in the sense of both the congregation and the meeting place, the latter meaning to be discussed in chapter IV. In the sense of body of the faithful we have, *Ofer middangeard mona lixeð, / gæstlic tungol, swa seo godes circe / þurh gesomninga soðes and rihtes / beorhte bliceð*, Cr. 699, and similarly, *þa seo circe her / æfyllendra eahtnysse bad*, 703. The idea of the congregation is the only one used in the *Psalms*. We note, *on ciricean Crist drihten god bealde bletsige bearn Israela (In ecclesiis benedicite Deo Domino, de fontibus Israel)*, LXVII, 24, *þa halgan eac hergeað on cyricean þine soðfæstnesse (in ecclesia sanctorum)*, LXXXVIII,

⁷ Our discussion is mainly based on the able article *church* in that work.

⁸ *NED.*

4. Similarly we have, *wese his herenes on haligra clænre cyricean cyðed geneakhel* CXLIX, 1, where the Vulgate has *laus ejus in ecclesia sanctorum*. The idea of congregation is furthermore clear in *Forðon hine on cyrcean cristenes folces hean ahebbað* (*Et exaltent eum in ecclesia plebis*), CVI, 31.

18. Of compounds with church only two occur in the poetry, *circnyt*, the sole example being found in Gifts 91, *Sum cræft hafað cyrcnytt fela, / mæg on lofsongum lifes waldend / hlude hergan, hafað healice / beorhte stefne*, and *ciricsōcn*, church-going, found once, Exhortation 47, *mid cyric-socnum cealdum wederum*.

19. Other designations for the congregation of the faithful, such as *gesomnung*, *gelaðung*, *gefērræden*, *gegaderung*, and *crīstendōm*, more or less frequent in prose,⁹ are either not met with in the poetry, or, as in the case of *gesomnung*, do not have a specific religious meaning.

⁹ MacG., p. 27 ff.

CHAPTER II

THE DEPARTED MEMBERS OF THE CHURCH

I. THE VIRGIN MARY

20. The Virgin Mary and her cult occupied a very prominent place in the Anglo-Saxon Church, and the references to her in both prose¹ and poetry² are numerous. The simplest designation of her is Virgin, the idea being expressed by different words; other appellations showing the rank and qualities attributed to her are also found. Very frequently the term *fæmne*, virgin, is met with, so for instance Cr. 35, 123, 175, 195, 418, 720, Ap. 29, Creed 19, etc. Among other designations we note *mæg*, *mægð*, *mēowle*, *weolme*, *frōwe*, *drūt*, all of which are poetic. We find that the highest regard is paid to her, and the invocation of her aid, which before the Council of Ephesus (431) had been resorted to only hesitatingly and occasionally,³ is very common in the Anglo-Saxon Church. We note, *fultumes bidde friclo uirginem almam*, Invocation 21, and *Gepinga us nu bristum wordum, / þæt he us ne læte leng owihle / in þisse deaðdene gedwolan hyran, / ac þæt he usic geferge in fæder rice, / þær we sorglease sibban motan / wunigan in wuldre mid weoroda god!* Cr. 342-7. Thus the mother of Christ was supposed to have great influence upon her son, and her intercession was thought to be especially effective. His high regard for her is brought out Rood B, 92-4, *his modor eac Marian sylfe / ælmihtig god for ealle menn / geweorðode ofer eall wifa cynn*.

21. Absolute sinlessness of the Virgin Mary, originally quite unknown to Catholicism, and Augustine's repeated assertion that she was born in original sin (*De ger. ad. lit.* V, 18) notwithstanding,⁴ is in Anglo-Saxon times often asserted, though one as late as Anselm (*Cur Deus Homo*, II, 16) says that the Virgin herself was conceived in iniquity, and born with original sin. Perpetual virginity, not taught during the first three centuries, and first appearing in a book placed upon the papal *index librorum prohibitorum* as heretical, is also a number of times alluded to and openly claimed in OE. poetry. The following examples will illustrate, *ides unmmæne*, Creed 14, *mægð manes leas*, Cr. 36, and *no gebrosmad weorð / mægðhad se micla*, 85-6, *hu ic fæmnanhad, / mund minne geheold and eac modor gewearð / mære meotudes suna*, 92-4, *saga ecne þonc / mærum meotodes sunu, þæt ic his*

¹ Compare MacG., p. 33 ff.

² For OHG. see Raumer, p. 292 f., for ON. Kahle, I, 325, II, 99 ff.

³ *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

⁴ *Ibid.*

modor gewearð, / fæmne forð se þeah, 209-11, *womma lease*, 188, *þæt þu þinne mægðhad meotude brohtes, / sealdes butan synnum*, 289-90, and *þe, Maria, forð / efne unwemme a gehealdan*, 299-300, *unmale ælces þinges*, 333, *mægð unmale*, 721, *þeah wæs hyre mægdenhad / æghwæs onwalg*, 1420-1, etc.

22. A few times the Virgin Mary is spoken of as the mother of Christ. We note, *Marie, modur Cristes*, Charm VIII, 17, *cyninges modor*, Men. 21, *drihtnes modor*, 169.

23. Not infrequently figures are used to designate the Holy Virgin. *Hordfate halgan gæste*, Maxims 18, only once, the word being poetic, *nu ic his (Christ's) tempel eam (gefremed)*, Cr. 206, *þær gestapelad wæs / æpelic ingong*, 307-8, *duru ormate*, 309, *swa fæstlice forescyttelsas*, 312, *ðæs ceasterhlides clustor*, 314, *ðas gyldnan gatu*, 318, *þa fæstan locu*, 321, *þu eart þæt wealldor*, 328. In 280-1 we find *þæt þu bryd sie / þæs selestan swegles bryttan*, and 292 *bryd beaga hroden*.

24. A few attributes of the Virgin may be noted here. *Sancta Maria*, Cr. 88, *ða soðan sancta⁵ Marian*, Charm I, 29, *sanctan⁶ Marian*, Creed 13, *seo clæneste cwen ofer eorþan*, Cr. 276, *meowle seo clæne*, Doom 293, *clæne and gecorene*, Cr. 331, *Eala þu mære*, 275, *mærre meowlan*, 446. Numerous others occur, as also some designations that show the greatest respect and veneration. We quote, *ealra femnena wyn*, Prayer III, 26, *wifa wynn*, Cr. 71, *wifa wuldor*, Men. 149, *þurh þa æpelan cwenn*, Cr. 1199, *Cwena selost*, Men. 168, *sio eadge mæg*, Cr. 87, *mædena selast*, Doom 294, *mægð modhwatu*, Maxims 16, *mægða weolman*, Cr. 445, *fægerust mægða*, Men. 148, *gebletsodost ealra*, Doom 296, *fæmne freolicast*, Cr. 72, *ænlicu godes drut*, Doom 291, *seo frowe*, 292. We add here the passage from Doom, 291-4, in order to show the rendering of the Latin line: *ænlicu godes drut, / seo frowe, þe us frean acende, / metod on moldan, meowle seo clæne: / þæt is .Maria., mædena selast (alma Dei Genitrix, pia virgo Maria, 148)*. The Virgin is further called *hlæfdige halgum meahum / wuldorweorudes and worldcundra / hada under heofonum and helwaral* Cr. 284-6. This list, which could be extended,⁷ contains a large number of poetical terms, some of them occurring only once, as seen from the list of poetical words at the end.

II. PATRIARCHS

25. The Latin *patriarcha* as a designation of the venerable Old Testament characters is rendered in OE. poetry by *hēahfæder*, OHG. *hōhfater*.⁸

⁵ MS. *sc̅a marian*.

⁶ MS. *Sc̅a*.

⁷ Compare kennings of Virgin Mary in Jansen, *Synonymik*, p. 18 f.

⁸ For ON. see Kahle, I, 326. For OE. prose MacG., pp. 38-9 may be compared.

Only a few examples occur, which we give in full. The disciples of Andrew report about their vision during the journey to Mermedonia, *heahfæderas halige oncneowon / and martyra mægen unlytel*, And. 875. Further examples are, *þær martiras meotode cwemað / and herigað hehfæder halgum stefnum / cyning in cestre*, Sat. 656, *betwyx heahfæderas and halige witigan (validicis junctos patriarchis atque prophetis, 144)*, Doom 284, *heahfædra fela swylce eac hæleþa gemot*, Har. 47, *heahfædera sum* (Abraham), Ex. 357, (*þær*) *heahfædera hra beheled wæron*, And. 791, while *heahfædra nan*, Jul. 514, is able to gain power over the devil, the accomplishment of the saintly Juliana being magnified by the spirit of darkness. As will be gathered from these examples, the patriarchs are generally mentioned with the prophets, the connection between them being close. In And. 801 Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are even spoken of as *ða witigan pry*.

26. Once *hēahfæder* is applied to God the Father, namely in Rood B, 134, *lifiaþ nu on heofenum mid heahfædere*, a use also appearing in prose and being equivalent to the Latin *pater excelsus*.

III. PROPHETS

27. The term for prophet in OE. poetry⁹ is *witega*, *witga*, from the Germanic stem **witags*, wise one; OHG. has *wizago*.¹⁰ In accordance with this fundamental meaning the word is probably used in a purely secular sense Dan. 41, *to þas witgan foron, / Caldea cyn to ceastre forð*. In Ph. 30, *swa us gefreogum gleawe / witgan þurh wisdom on gewritum cypað*, the idea of wise is also very prominent. Judas or Cyriacus is called *witgan sunu* El. 592, and in the same poem, where the nails of the cross are mentioned, we hear *Be ðam se witga sang, / snottor searupancum*, 1188.

28. In the sense of prophet the term *witega* occurs not infrequently, especially in *Elene*, *Christ*, and other poems. A few examples will suffice here. *þurg witgena wordgeryno*, El. 289, *ge witgena / lare onfengon*, 334, and *hu on worulde ær witgan sungon, / gasthalige guman be godes bearne*, 561. In El. 351 Isaiah is called *witga*, and in Cr. 306 *wisfæst witga*. *Witgan wisfæste wordum sægdon, / cyðdon Cristes gebyrd*, we hear Cr. 64-5, while 1193-4 they are spoken of as *witgan drihtnes / halge higegleawe*. *Halige witigan* raise Christ on his throne, Sat. 460. Of further occurrences of the term we note *witgan larum*, Ex. 390, *oð þæt witga cwom, / Daniel to dome*, Dan. 149, *ne on mine witigan wergðe settan (in prophetis meis nolite malignari)*, Ps. CIV, 13.

29. However, the term *witga* is also a designation for heathen prophets or magi. Thus in Dan. 135, *andswarode / wulfheort cyning* (Nebuchad-

⁹ For the prose compare MacG., pp. 36-8.

¹⁰ Compare for OHG. Raumer, p. 322 f., ON. Kahle, I, 325-6.

nezzar) *witgum sinum*, and perhaps also in 647, *Ne lengde þa leoda aldor / witegena wordcwide*.

30. In the original sense of *propheta* as proclaimer, utterer, we have the poetic *boda* in Moods 4, *wordhord onwreak witgan larum / beorn boca gleaw, bodan ærcwide*. More often the compound *spel(l)boda* is used, originally meaning messenger, proclaimer of a message. The secular use of the term is illustrated Ps. CV, 10, where it is said about the Egyptian disaster in the Red Sea, *þæt þara æfre ne com an spellboda*. In a religious sense the word is applied to Daniel, *godes spellboda*, Dan. 533 and 743. In the *Phenix*, where Job appears in the rôle of prophet, *godes spellboda*, line 571, serves as a designation for him, the reader having been exhorted 548-9, *gehyrað witedom / Jobes gieddingal*. The same term is also applied to the apostles Gu. 11, *swa þæt geara iu godes spellbodan / wordum sægdon and þurh witedom / eal anemdon, swa hit nu gongeð*.

31. Further uses of the word are found in *Daniel*, where in lines 230 and 465 the three youths in the fiery furnace are called *godes spellbodan*. Cr. 336, in referring to the Annunciation, speaks of *godes spellboda Gabriel*; Gen. 2494 the angels bringing Lot the fateful news of Sodom and Gomorrah's disaster are called (*frome*) *godes spellbodan*, and Cr. 449 those announcing Christ's birth to the shepherds *bodan*. As will be seen from the passages, the use of the term is often, though not always, explained by the function assumed in a particular case. *Wōðbora*, otherwise orator, speaker, is applied to Isaiah Cr. 302.

32. Prophecy, prophesying, is expressed by *witedōm*, *witigdōm*, a term occurring five times in the poetry. Ph. 548, *gehyrað witedom / Jobes gieddinga*, and Gu. 12, *þurh witedom / eal anemdon*, have already been quoted in connection with *witega*. The other examples are, *Wæs se witedom / þurh fyrnwitan beforan sunge, / eall æfter orde, swa hit eft gelamp / ðinga gehwylces*, El. 1152, *sceolde witedom / in him sylfum beon soðe gefylled*, Cr. 212, and *Ne meakte þa seo mænigeo on þam meðelstede / þurh witigdom wihte apencean*, Dan. 146. In the sense of to prophesy the verb *witgian* occurs only once, namely Dan. 546, and (Daniel) *him witgode wyrda gepingu*. Once we find *ærcwide*, m., Moods 4, *wordhord onwreak witgan larum / beorn boca gleaw, bodan ærcwide*, which may have the sense of prophesy.

33. The magi of the Chaldeans, otherwise also designated simply prophets, are called *dēofulwītan* Dan. 128, the term being found only once in OE. literature.

IV. APOSTLES

34. The first adherents of Christ are called in the New Testament *μαθηται* in contradistinction to the master as *διδάσκαλος*, and in reference

to their being sent to preach, ἀπόστολοι. The Vulgate renders μαθηταί by *discipuli*, and takes over the term ἀπόστολοι as *apostoli*. *Apostol* as the designation of disciples is found only twice in OE. poetry,¹¹ namely Men. 122, where Peter and Paul are spoken of as *þa apostolas, / þeoden holde þrowedon on Rome*, and Sat. 571, *þæt he þæs ymb ane niht twelf apostolas / mid his gastes gife, gingran geswiðde*. A direct translation of the term *apostolus*, which in OHG. besides the rare *postul* is generally rendered by *boto*,¹² does not occur in OE. poetry, though once the compound *spelboda* is found, Gu. 11, *swa þæt geara iu godes spelbodan / wordum sægdon*. But references to the Twelve are by no means absent. We note, *twelfe under tunglum tireadige haleð*, And. 2, *þa ðu us twelfe trymman angunne*, 1419, *Twelfe wæron / dædum domfæste, dryhtne gecorene*, Ap. 4-5, *Ðys ða æðelingas ende gesealdon, / XII. tilmodige*, 86, and *eom ic þara twelfa sum, þe he getreoweste / under monnes hiw mode gelufade*, Gu. 681.

35. Only one compound of *apostol* appears, the poetic *apostolhād*, denoting the rank or position of an apostle, occurring only twice, (Andrew) *gesette / wisfæstne wer. . . / in þære beorhtan byrig bisceop þam leodum / and gehalgode fore þam heremægene / þurh apostolhad*, *Platan nemned*, And. 1651, and (At Rome died) *Petrus and Paulus: is se apostolhad / wide geweorðod ofer werpeoda*, Ap. 14.

36. However, the disciples and followers of Christ appear frequently in OE. poetry, though not often under the name of apostles. Thus we find *ærendraca* in Doom 286, *þær þa ærendracan synd ælmihtiges godes (inter apostolicas . . . arces, 145)*, and *folgere*, once, Creed 35, and *he .XL. daga folgeras sine / runum arette*. The term *geongra*, comparative of *geong*, in the sense of servant or disciple, occurs not infrequently. The simple meaning servants is applied to Adam and Eve in Gen. 450, where they are called *drihtnes geongran*, and in 458, 515; in other places the term is similarly used. Referring to the disciples of Christ, we find for instance *gingran sinum*, Sat. 522, *gingran*, 526, 530, 531, and 572 in the passage quoted about the twelve apostles. In And. 1330, *ðæt hie ðe hnægen / gingran æt guðe*, reference is made to Andrew, though the term even in its religious or Christian meaning is by no means limited to the Twelve, for *gingran sine*, And. 427, similarly 847 and 894, is applied to the followers of Andrew.

37. Other appellations are also used for the followers of Christ in accordance with the view taken in a particular case. While thus in *swa dyde lareow þin: / cyneþrym ahof, þam wæs Crist nama*, And. 1321-2, *læreow* as Andrew's teacher would be the διδάσκαλος κατ' ἐξοχήν, Andrew is

¹¹ For the prose compare MacG., p. 39 ff.

¹² See Raumer, pp. 364-6. A discussion of the terms used in ON. will be found in Kahle, I, p. 327, and II, 106-7.

called *leofne lareow* 1707, and James *frod and fastræd folca lareow* Men. 135. Not seldom Christ is represented as a king and his followers as his *þegnas*, retainers. This is an especially favored term, conspicuously in *Andreas*, but also in other poems. We note as designation of the Twelve, *þeodnes þegnas*, And. 3; *his maguþegne*, 94, applied to Matthew; *his magoþegne*, 1207, referring to Andrew, 384, *Gif ðu þegn sie þrymsittendes / wuldorcyninges*, 417, *þegen gepungen þrymsittendes*, 528, also mentioning him as retainer. But the term is also employed for Andrew and his followers, 323, 344, while *þegnas wlitige*, 363, is used of Andrew's followers. The disciples at Christ's ascension are called *þegnas gecorene* Cr. 497, and 541 we find, *Bidon ealle þær / þegnas þrymsfulle þeodnes gehata / in þære torhtan byrig* (Jerusalem). Simon in Samaria accuses *þa gecorenan Cristes þegnas* opposing him as magicians, Jul. 299, and Nero commands that *Cristes þegnas / Petrus and Paulus* be killed, 303. Thus Gu. 665 Bartholomew is designated *dyre dryhtnes þegn*, calling himself *meotudes þegn* 680.

38. Other terms might be added in order to show the attitude of mind with which the authors of different poems view the followers of the man of meekness and peace. We note only *ðrettmæcgas*, And. 664, applied to the Twelve, *ðretta* used of Andrew in *eadig oretta*, 463, *anræd oretta*, 983, etc., *halig cempa*, 461, *Cristes cempa*, 991. Similar terms are also applied to Saint Guthlac, who as a true warrior defends himself against the hosts of evil spirits.

39. In relation to each other the apostles are conceived as brothers. Thus And. 183 Andrew is told about Matthew as *þinne sigebroðor*, and again 940, *þær þin broðor is*. We have further, *Syb wæs gemæne / bam þam gebroðrum*, And. 1014, *wuldres þegnas, / begen þa gebroðor*, 1027, and *þa gebroðru*, *Petrus and Paulus*, Charm VIII, 18. In Gu. 686 Bartholomew, coming to the help of the saint, says, *Is þæt min broþor*, where the term has a more general significance.

V. MARTYRS

40. The Latin *martyr* (from late Greek *μάρτυρ*) as the designation for one who suffers persecution on account of his belief, is expressed in OE. literature by two terms, the learned *martyre*, *martyr*, *martir*, and the native *brōwere*, from *brōwian*, to suffer¹⁵. Only four times the learned term is employed. Once it refers to Saint Guthlac, who valiantly puts up a good and successful battle against the evil spirits, *wæs se martyre from moncynnes / synnum asundrad*, Gu. 485. A reference to departed martyrs we find Sat. 655, *þær martiras meotode cwemað / and herigað hehfæder halgum stefnum / cyning in cestre*. The passage And. 876 is similar, *We þær heah-*

¹⁵ For the prose compare MacG., p. 52 ff. The OHG. terms are discussed by Raumer, pp. 293-4, the ON. by Kahle, I, 327-8, II, 107-8.

fæderas halige oncneowon / and martyra mægen unlytel. A memorial in honor of all the martyrs was celebrated in the Anglo-Saxon Church, to which reference is made in the enumeration of the *halige dagas*, Men. 69, *Sculan we hwæðere gyt / martira gemynd ma areccan.*¹⁴

41. The native term *þrōwere* is used only twice in poetry, both occurrences being in *Guthlac*. In line 132, *Oft þurh reorde abead, / þam þe þrowera þeawas lufedon, / godes ærendu*, it is rather general, while the passage *Frome wurðun monge / godes þrowera*, 153, refers to those still undergoing suffering.

42. The Latin *martyrium*, the witness or death of a martyr, is expressed by *martyrdōm*, *martyrhād*, and *þrōwung*, the latter term being employed for the suffering of holy men as well as for the *passio* of Christ. In Men. 126 *martyrdōm* is used of the supposed joint suffering of Peter and Paul, *þa apostolas, / þeoden holde þrowedon on Rome / ofer midne sumor miccle gewisse / furðor fif nihtum folcbealo þrealic, / mærne martyrdom*, while the death of Laurentius is mentioned 145, *þænne forð gewat / ymb þreo niht þæs þeodne getrywe / þurh martyrdom, mære diacon.* In a somewhat peculiar sense the term is employed Prayer IV, 80, *Gode ic hæbbe / abolgen, brego moncynnes: forþon ic þus bittre wearð / gewitnad fore þisse worulde, swa min giewyrhto wæron / micle fore monnum, þat ic martirdom / deopne adreoge.* As has been pointed out by Wuelker,¹⁵ the term *martirdōm* would suggest that the exiled author considers himself innocent as to the particular cause of the punishment, though realizing the unjustly inflicted punishment as a just retribution overwhelming him on account of other sins. *Martyrhād* occurs once in *Guthlac*, where it is applied to the state of suffering to which the numerous devils subject the saint, (God would) *æfter þrowinga (him) þonc gegyldan, / þat he martyrhād mode gelufade*, 443.

43. *þrōwung* in a somewhat general sense as referring to a saint is used in the passage just quoted, *æfter þrowinga*, Gu. 442, similarly 356, *Nis þisses beorges setl / meodumre ne mara, þonne hit men duge, / se þe in þrowingum þeodnes willan / dæghwæm dreogeð*, and also line 750, *þoncade þeodne, þæs þe he in þrowingum / bidan moste.* The references to the *passio* of Christ will be quoted in chapter VII, Life of Christ, 248.

VI. SAINTS

44. In order to express Latin *sanctus*, two different terms are employed in OE. poetry,¹⁶ one native, while the other has been taken over from the

¹⁴ Further remarks will be found in chapter V, Festivals and Holy Seasons.

¹⁵ *Grundriss*, p. 377.

¹⁶ In regard to prose see MacG., p. 60 ff. For OHG. compare Raumer, 294, for ON. Kahle, I, 328-9, II, 108 ff.

Latin. Sometimes the borrowed word even retains its Latin ending, as shown in *sanctus Paulus*, El. 504 and Panther 69. The term is applied several times to the Virgin Mary, as will be seen under subdivision I, 24. Like the adjective, the noun *sanct*, m., is also rare. We note, to *þæm æþelan / hnigan him sanctas*,¹⁷ Sat. 240, and *sanctas singað*, 355. In Men. 200 reference is made to the festival of All Saints,¹⁸ *we healdað / Sancta symbel, þara þe sið oððe ær / worhtan in worulde willan drihtnes*.

45. However, the usual expression corresponding to Latin *sanctus* is *hālig*, OHG. *heilig*, OS. *hēlig*, ON. *heilagr*, from Teut. **hailag-oz*, probably meaning inviolate, inviolable.¹⁹ The term, used both as an adjective and as a noun, is of great frequency in the poetry, so that a few examples will suffice for illustration. (*Gefeligan*) *haligre* (St. Juliana) *fæder*, Jul. 61, *his halige, þe on heofonum synt*, Charm I, 58, *halge cwelmdon*, Jul. 15, *haligra gemynd*, Instructions 63, *haligra tiid*, Men. 229, *þara haligra on heofonan rice* (*sanctorum*, 11), Doom 22, with which may be compared *ic gemænscipe mærne getreowe / þinra haligra her on life*, Creed 52-3, a rendering of the Latin *Sanctorum communionem*; *eallum ðam halgum*, Rood B, 154. *Hālig þær inne / wærfæst wunade*, Jul. 237, *ahon hāligne on heanne beam* (referring to Andrew), 309, *þonne hālige men / lifendum gode lofsang doð*,²⁰ Soul 68.

46. The noun formed from *hālig* is *hālignes*, which is found only a few times in the *Psalms*, where it is used in the sense of holiness as an attribute of God, and as a term for sanctuary.²¹

47. The verb is (*ge*)*hālgian*, employed in a number of different ways. Thus it is said of God, *ðu sunnandæg sylf hālgodeſt*, Dox. 25, of Abraham in regard to the circumcision, *þu scealt hālgian hired þinne*, Gen. 2310, while L. Prayer I, 2, we read, *Sy þinum weorcan hālgad / noma niþþa bearnum*. *Gehālgian*, to consecrate, we find And. 586, *he gehalgode . . . / win of watere*, which is used in the sense of consecration or ordination of a bishop 1650, applied to the dedication of a church building, *cirice gehalgod*, 1646, and employed in a metaphorical sense Cr. 1482, *þæt selegescot, þæt ic me swæs on þe / gehalgode hus to wynne*. Twice the term refers to the consecration of a king, (*Edgar wæs*) *to kinge gehalgod*, Chr. III, A, 2, and *wæs þeoden gehalgod*, 20. In the sense of to keep holy *gehālgian* is met with

¹⁷ It should be noted that the MSS. generally employ abbreviations, so El. 504 for *sanctus scs*; in our passage Sat. 240, *scas*, etc.

¹⁸ A discussion of it will be found in chapter V, 99.

¹⁹ For the development of the meaning *holy* see *NED.*, also MacG., p. 60.

²⁰ The term *hālig* is employed in many different ways, from *hālig jeoh* in Gen. 201 to an attribute of the Deity.

²¹ Quoted in chapters IV and VII.

in *Swa is gehalgod þin heah nama*, L. Prayer III, 18, similarly II, 3-4, the passage in each case rendering *Sanctificetur nomen tuum*. The participle used as an epithet of Christ occurs Cr. 435, *se gehalgoda hælend*.

CHAPTER III

ECCLESIASTICAL OFFICES

48. From the second century on Christianity conceived society as divided into two classes,¹ the whole congregation of the faithful being designated as the *κληρος*, originally meaning inheritance, lot.² The Christians were thus the *κληρος θεου*, an expression which goes back to the Hebrew *נחלת יהוה* (*hereditas Dei*), used in the Old Testament of the Children of Israel. Soon, however, the term was transferred to the priestly class, which had gradually developed and which might be said to have chosen Christ as its particular portion. From *κληρος* the adjective *κληρικός*, clerical, pertaining to the priestly class, was derived, and both words were taken over by Christian Latin as *clerus* and *clericus*. In distinction to *κληρος*, the others were called *λαϊκοί*, those belonging to the people, the *λαός*, a word also taken over by the Latin as *laici*.

49. In OE. poetry this general division into two classes, laymen and clergy, is not formally indicated. In the prose laymen were termed *læwede men*, *ðæt læwede folc*, while the favorite name for the clergy was *ðæt gāstlice folc*, *godes ðēowas*.³ In the poetry a name for the laymen does not appear. The passage *feala wearð todræfed / gleawra godes þeowa*, Chr. III, B, 18-19, does not absolutely demand the interpretation of *godes þeowa* as clergymen, though a parallel passage, *þær wæs preosta heaf, / mycel muneca þreat mine gefræge / gleawra gegaderod*, Chr. III, A, 8-10, would suggest such an interpretation. The other examples of the term do not furnish conclusive evidence.

50. The clergy was composed of two originally distinct classes, the clergy proper, and the monastic clergy. It may be noted here that the monks at first were generally laymen, the insistence upon ordination being a very late development. The clergy proper will be taken up first.

51. The whole priesthood of the Roman Church was divided into two groups, the *Ordines maiores*, to which belonged four classes, *episcopus*, *sacerdos*, *diaconus*, *subdiaconus*, and the *Ordines minores*, which embraced the *acolythus*, *exorcista*, *lector*, and *ostiarius*. But according to Ælfric, (*Canons*, Thorpe, p. 443 ff.⁴), the Anglo-Saxon Church recognized only

¹ Raumer, p. 295 f.; for the whole chapter compare 295 ff., for ON. Kahle, I, 329 ff., II, 116 ff.

² So in the only example of the learned word in OE. poetry, *Gif ge slæpað samod on clero*, Ps. LXVII, 13.

³ MacG., pp. 67-9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

seven orders, and conceived bishops and masspriests as belonging to one order, so that our first and second class of the *Ordines maiores* would coalesce into one. To this order naturally belonged also the bishop of Rome, the pope, as well as archbishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs.

52. The pope may be considered first. The OE. designation is *pāpa*, derived from Eccl. Latin *pāpa*, going back to late Gr. *πάπας*, *παπās*, a late variant of *πάππας*, father.⁵ OHG. has *babes*, *babist*, ON. *pāpe*, *pāfe*. The Greek term was applied to bishops, patriarchs, and popes, being a recognized title of the bishop of Alexandria before 250. The Latin *pāpa* was employed as a term of respect for high ecclesiastics, especially bishops, and throughout the 5th century all Christian bishops were still called by that name.⁶ As late as 640 St. Gall applies it to Desiderius, bishop of Cahors. However, beginning with Leo the Great (440-461), the term became gradually limited in the Western Church to the bishop of Rome, though it was not until 1073 that Gregory VII claimed the title exclusively for the Roman pontiff.

53. As *pāpa* is a late Latin borrowing, it is used in OE. for the bishop of Rome. In the poetry it occurs but once, Met. I, 42, *was þam æbelinge* (Theoderic) *Arrianes / gedwola leofre þonne drihtnes æ, / het Johannes godne papan / heafde beheawan*. Where in *Elene* there is an opportunity to mention the pope, he is simply called a bishop, *Siððan Elene heht Eusebium / on rædgebæht, Rome bisceop / gefetian on fultum*, 1051, a characteristic feature, since the Anglo-Saxons for a long time regarded the pope simply as a highly revered bishop.⁷

54. The OE. term for bishop is *biscop*, *bisceop*, m., OHG. *bischof*, *piscof*, ON. *biscup*. The word is assumed to be derived from a Romanic **biscopu* or Vulgar L. *(e)biscopu*s, L. *episcopus*, from Gr. *ἐπισκοπος*, overlooker, overseer.⁸ In Greek, as also partly in Latin, it was used in this general sense, being also the title of various civil officers, but with the rise of Christianity it came to be applied to the specific ecclesiastical officer.⁹ The OE. *biscop* differs from its Latin prototype in that it is often employed in a more general sense, translating also *pontifex*, *flamen*, *sacerdos*, etc., by no means limited to Christian conceptions.¹⁰

⁵ See article in *NED*.

⁶ For examples see Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*.

⁷ N. James, *Die Englische Kirche in ihrem Verhältnis zum Papst- und Königtum*, Diss. Halle, 1893. P. 30 ff. See MacG., p. 83.

⁸ However, F. Kluge, *Urgermanisch*, 3. Auflage, p. 37 says: "Die westgerm. Lautformen für den Begriff 'Bischof' haben auch ein höheres Alter als eine lateinische Entlehnung aufweisen würde, und so wird ang. *bisceop*, ahd. *bischof* wohl got-griech. Ursprungs sein (*atpiskauþus* = gr. *ἐπισκοπος*)."

⁹ See *bishop* in *NED*.

¹⁰ MacG., p. 92.

55. In OE. poetry *biscop* occurs 14 times, mostly in the sense of Christian ecclesiastic. Eusebius is *Rome biscoep* El. 1051, *he gesette on sacerdhad / in Jerusalem Judas þam folce / to biscoepe*, 1056, the term referring to Judas or Cyriacus also in lines 1072, 1094, 1126, 1216, with the epithet *se halga* 1093. Chr. III, B, 14, we are told, *of Brytene gewat, biscoep se goda / þurh gecyndne crafst, þam wæs Cyneweard nama*. In Durham rests among others *Aidan biscop*, Durham 11, while we hear line 13, *Is ðerinne midd heom Æðelwold biscop*. Two further examples occur, Men. 104, where St. Augustine is spoken of as *biscoep bremran*, while Andrew *anne gesette / . . . / in þære beorhtan byrig biscoep þam leodum*, And. 1649.

56. While in prose examples of *biscop* referring to the Jewish highpriests are very numerous,¹¹ only one occurs in poetry, And. 607, *þær biscoepas and boceras / and ealdormenn aht besæton / mæðelhægende*. *Biscop* is also twice applied to Melchisedec of Salem, who was priest and king at the same time, namely Gen. 2103, *þæt wæs se mæra Melchisedec, / leoda biscoep*, and 2123, *þæs hereteames / ealles teoðan sceat Abraham sealde / godes biscoepe*. To heathen priests *biscop* is never applied in the poetry, though the instances of this use of the word are likewise comparatively numerous in prose.¹²

57. Of *biscop* only one compound, *biscophād*, is found in the poetry, and this only twice. In the example from Ps. CVIII, 8, *Wesan him dagas deorce and dimme and feawe and his biscoephad brucan feondas (et episcopatum ejus accipiat alter)*, the word is used in a purely secular sense, but in El. 1211, *Wæs se bissceophad / fægere befæsted*, the Christian episcopal office is referred to.

58. To the *Ordines maiores* belongs furthermore the *prēost*, *prīost*, m., OHG. *prēst*, *priast*, ON. *prestr*. Etymologically the term goes back eventually to Gr. *πρεσβύτερος*, elder, used as elder of the congregation in the New Testament, e.g. Tit. 1, 5. Soon the word came to be applied in the sense of *sacerdos* to the Christian ministers, the consecrated persons performing sacred duties. With this meaning it was taken over into Latin, where the term *sacerdos* as a name for the sacrificing priests of the heathen deities and the Jewish priests came also to be used for the Christian minister. The OE. *prēost* and the other monosyllabic forms are supposed to go back to a common Romance **prester*, though the origin of the vowel *eo* and the anterior phonetic history of the forms remain to be cleared up.¹³

59. In OE. prose, the word *prēost* may denote either a masspriest (the L. *presbyter*), or a priest in general, any member of the seven orders of the

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *NED.* under *priest*. Compare Pogatscher, 142. A discussion of various attempts to account for the English word is found MacG., p. 70 ff.

clergy proper, thus being often used in the sense of L. *sacerdos*.¹⁴ Though of frequent occurrence in the prose, the term appears only once in poetry, Chr. III, A, 8, *þær wæs preosta heap, / mycel muneca þreat mine gefrage / gleawra gegaderod*. The term *mæssere*, m., in the sense of *mæssepræost*, curiously enough, is once used for the three Jewish youths in the fiery furnace, *bletsien þe þine sacerdos, soðfæst cyning, / milde mæsseras mærne dryhten*, Az. 149.

60. More often the term *sacerd*, mf., is encountered. As its prototype *sacerdos* in Latin, the OE. word could be applied in prose to a Christian bishop and masspriest, a Jewish priest and highpriest, as also to a heathen priest.¹⁵ In poetry the term is not applied directly to a Christian priest or bishop, but a passage like El. 1054-6, *þæt he gesette on sacerdhad / in Jerusalem Judas þam folce / to bisceope*, shows that this meaning was by no means foreign to the mind of the poet. More generally *sacerd* is used to denote the Jewish priests or highpriests, though sometimes it has a rather wide meaning as in Ps. XCVIII, 6, *Moyses and Aaron mære gebroðor soðe sacerdas (Moyses et Aaron in sacerdotibus)*. Christ himself is called *þone clænan eac / sacerd soðlice*, Cr. 136-7. As referring to Jewish dignitaries we note, (James) *fore sacerдум swilt browode*, Ap. 71, (Christ) *septe sacerdas sweotolum tacnum*, And. 742; the term also occurs Ps. LXXVII, 64, CXXXI, 9, 17, *sacerdas* rendering the Vulgate reading *sacerdotes*.

61. Curiously enough, *sacerd* is once used to designate the three Jewish youths in the fiery furnace, *bletsien þe þine sacerdos, soðfæst cyning*, Az. 148. To heathen priests the term is not applied in the poetry, other designations being employed.

62. Only two compounds are found in the poetry, each being used once. *Sacerdhād*, already quoted in the discussion of *sacerd*, denotes El. 1054 *sacerdotium*, the rank of a bishop. *Ealdorsacerd*, And. 670, is an appellation of the Jewish highpriest.

63. Of the two other classes belonging to the *Ordines maiores*, only one is mentioned in the poetry, namely the *diacon*, m., represented by the sole example, *þænne forð gewat / ymb þreo niht þæs þeodne getrywe / þurh martyrdom, mære diacon, / Laurentius*, Men. 145. The *Ordines minores* are not referred to in the poetry.

64. In the discussion of the subject of the monastic clergy, a few preliminary remarks on the development of the monastic institution will not be out of place.¹⁶

¹⁴ Lingard, *History and Antiquities*, etc., I, p. 134; MacG., 73 ff.

¹⁵ MacG., p. 76.

¹⁶ Based upon the articles dealing with the subject in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

65. Christian monachism was inaugurated by St. Anthony in Egypt about 300, when he began to organize the life of ascetics who in solitary retirement had given themselves up to spiritual exercises. Growing out of the purely eremitical or hermit life, Antonian monachism retained many of the characteristic features inherited from its origin, there being for instance no organized community life.

66. Farther south in Egypt a number of monasteries were organized by St. Pachomius between 315-20, regulated in all details by minute rules, with prayers and meals in common. There was also a highly organized system of work, which made the different institutions, all ruled by a centralized form of government, closely akin to agricultural and industrial colonies.

67. St. Basil adapted monastic life to Greek and European ideas, and in so doing followed the Pachomian model, eliminating eremitical life and the competitive spiritual athletics which flourished in Egypt. However, his example, though not without influence, was no determining factor in shaping monastic ideals in the West.

68. For when, about 350, monachism was introduced there, the Antonian ideal with its solitary life and excessive austerities was followed. Climatic conditions and racial temperament rendering this extreme Egyptian pattern unsuitable, by the end of the 5th century monachism in Western Europe was in a disorganized state. From it St. Benedict rescued it through his famous Rule (probably written about 530), the result of mature experience and observation, which gave coherence, stability, and organization to the monastic institution. Oriental asceticism and rivalry in austerities were eliminated, and the individual was subordinated to the community. The idea of law and order came to be introduced into a society which formed a closely knit family, where productive work had a large part in the daily duties. St. Benedict was eager to establish a 'school,' in which the science of salvation was to be taught, so that by renouncing their own will and in taking up arms under the banner of the Lord, the monks might "deserve to become partakers of Christ's kingdom." The regulations breathe the spirit of discretion, moderation, and extreme reasonableness, showing that the author possessed an uncommon fund of common sense.

69. St. Benedict's Rule soon supplanted all others, and is conspicuous for maintaining undisputed sway for centuries, the only exception being among the Irish monks, where the craving for hermit life, for bodily austerities, and individual piety had been strong from the first.

70. References to monks in OE. poetry are extremely rare, though a whole poem is devoted to the hermit Guthlac. He himself is never called

a hermit or by any formal monastic name, but in line 59 hermits are mentioned, *hafað* (devil) *bega cræft*, / *eahteð anbuendra*, persons who dwell alone, characterized lines 52-4, *Sume þa wuniað on westennum*,¹⁷ / *secað and gesittað sylfra willum* / *hamas on heolstrum*. *Ānbænd*, m., is poetical and found only once.

71. The monastic clergy were supposed to live according to the *regol*. The word goes back to L. **rēgula*, a rule or ruler, which the Germanic tribes used in building their dwellings.¹⁸ The original meaning still occurs in OE. *regol-sticca*,¹⁹ a rule or ruler (the instrument), and in the verb *regolian*,²⁰ to draw lines with a ruler. After the introduction of monasticism it assumed its ecclesiastical meaning. So we find in *Guthlac* the saint reporting that the evil spirits showed him the dwellings of men and *setton me in edwit*, *þæt ic eaðe forbær* / *rume regulas and reþe mod* / *geongra monna in godes tēplum*, 459-61. The allusion hardly includes the clergy proper, who are also not to be thought of in *regolfaste*, men who strictly observe the rules, Men. 44, where reference is made to Benedict's death, *þæne heriað wel* / *in gewritum wise*, *wealdendes þeow* / *rinces regolfaste*.

72. Aside from general statements, such as *Sume him þæs hades hlisan willað* / *wegan on wordum and þa weorc ne doð*, Gu. 31-2, and the characterization of monks Gu. 762-82, etc., only two other monastic terms appear in OE. poetry. One is *munuc*, *munic*, m., OHG. *munih*, ON. *múnkr*, which according to its etymology (from **muniko*, from Vulgar L. **monicus*, for L. *monachus*, taken from Gr. *μοναχός*) meant originally a religious solitary, but from an early period was applied to coenobites, which eventually became the ordinary use.²¹ It occurs only twice in the poetry, both examples being found in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. At the consecration of Edgar *þær was preosta heap*, / *mycel muneca þreat mine gefrage* / *gleawra gegaderod*, Chr. III, A, 9. The other example, Chr. IV, tells of a monastic establishment. The king, Ælfred, is captured, led to *Eligbyrig swa gebundenne*, 18, but on the ship *man hine blende* / *and hine swa blindne brohte to ðam munecon*, 19-20.

73. The other monastic term is *abbot*, m., OHG. *abbat*, ON. *abóte*, *abbate*. In the East *ἀββάς* was originally applied to all monks, but in the West came to be restricted to the superior of a monastery. In OE. prose the common form is *abbod*, *abbud*,²² taken over from the Latin through the

¹⁷ In a gloss of Ælfric we have *wēstensella* as the equivalent of Latin *emerita*. *Guthlac's* dwelling is called *ānseld*, hermitage, Gu. 1240.

¹⁸ Pogatscher, 44 and 103.

¹⁹ Used by Ælfric.

²⁰ Napier, A., *Contributions to Old English Lexicography* (1903-6), 316 (Clark Hall's Dictionary).

²¹ *NED*.

²² Compare MacG., *abbot*, pp. 114-15, also *NED*. under *abbot*.

Romance. In the 12th century the influence of L. *abbātem* substituted *t* for *d*. The new form predominates in Middle English, and occurs also in our example from the late *Durham Poem*, *Is ðerinne midd heom Æðelwold biscop / and ðe breoma bocera Beda and Boisil abbot*, 14.

74. In the poetry no references to the dress of ecclesiastics or to their source of income are found.



CHAPTER IV

CHURCH BUILDINGS

75. When the Christian missionaries began their work of conversion in England, the cult of the heathen gods was in the hands of a priestly hierarchy. For the worship of the idols temples had been erected, in which sacrifices were offered. It seems that the places of idolatry received little toleration at the hands of men who, to judge from the scant material available, set themselves to root out all vestiges of a heathen tradition. It is true that the diplomatic Gregory in a letter, written 601, had counseled moderation, for Mellitus, after having come to the '*reverentissimum virum fratrem nostrum Augustinum episcopum*,' was to tell him "*quid diu tecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractavi: videlicet quia fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant; sed ipsa quae in eis sunt idola destruantur; aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquiae ponantur: quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu daemonum in obsequio veri Dei debeant commutari; ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non videt destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum verum cognoscens ac adorans, ad loca quae consuevit, familiarius concurret*."¹ In order that the people may be more easily won over, some outward concessions in regard to festivals etc. are made. For, continues he who knows the human heart, "*duris mentibus simul omnia abscidere impossibile esse non dubium est, quia et is qui summum locum ascendere nititur, gradibus vel passibus non autem saltibus elevatur*."² It seems that Gregory had merely adapted himself to circumstances, for in a letter to King Ethelbert written a few months before he exhorts him in his zeal for conversion "*idolorum cultus insequere, fanorum aedificia evertit*."³ There is reason to believe that Coifi's advice to the Northumbrian king "*ut templa et altaria quae sine fructu utilitatis sacravimus, ocius anathemati et igni contradamus*,"⁴ the highpriest himself profaning the temple and "*jussit sociis destruere ac succendere fanum cum omnibus septis suis*,"⁵ does not mark an isolated occurrence.

76. Instead of places sacred to heathen divinities, Christian churches and houses of worship rose, and these were made as imposing as possible by the Roman missionaries, men not ignorant of the impression created by external representation.

¹ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book I, ch. 30, Migne, XCV, p. 70.

² *Ibid.*, Migne, XCV, p. 71.

³ *Ibid.*, ch. 32, Migne XCV, p. 72.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Book II, ch. 13, p. 104.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

77. In OE. poetry several designations for Christian churches occur, but on the whole the material is very scant, no detailed description of the building or its interior being given.⁶ Aside from the general term in *hūs godes*, Ps. LXXXIII, 11, *Crīstes hūs*, CXXXIII, 2, CXXXIV, 2, *his hālige hūs*, LXXVII, 68, and similar phrases,⁷ we find a few times *cirice*, the etymology and significance of which have already been discussed in ch. I, under II. In the sense of Christian church building we have the word in *Elene*, where we read *þæt hio cirican þær / on þam beorhhliðe begra rædum / getimbrede, tempel dryhtnes / on Caluarie Criste to willan*, 1007. *Cirice* as a place of worship occurs also And. 1633, *þa se modiga het, / cyninges cræftiga ciricean getimbran, / gerwan godes tempel*, the consecration of which is mentioned 1646, *cirice gehalgod*. In the passage *cwealde Cristne men, cirican fylde*, Jul. 5, it is hardly to be doubted that churches are referred to. And *Donne hine forcinnað ða cirican getuinnað*, Sal. 107, would seem to have no other meaning than that the sacred buildings of the Christians keep away the evil spirit, possessing a magic power against the principle of darkness.

78. The learned word *templ*, *tempel*, n., is mentioned no fewer than 21 times in the poetry, though not always in the sense of church building. Thus figuratively the Virgin Mary is called Christ's temple in Cr. 206, while in line 707, *hi godes tempel / bræcan and bærndon*, the context clearly indicates that the body or the congregation of the faithful is meant. *To godes temple*, El. 1057, is perhaps applied to the Christian congregation at Jerusalem. In a somewhat loose sense of heaven or sky *tempel* may occur Cr. 495, *Cyning ure gewat / þurh þæs temples hrof, þær hy to segun* (the disciples at the ascension).⁸ The dwelling of St. Guthlac is spoken of as a temple of God in Gu. 975, 1086, and 1122, which for instance in lines 1264 and 1284 is called *þæt halge hus*, while 120 it was stated *se þær haligne ham arærde*.

79. A few times *tempel* is synonymous with *cirice* in the sense of Christian church building. Clearly so in the passage *ciricean getimbran, / gerwan godes tempel*, And. 1634, as also *cirican . . . / . . . / getimbrede, tempel dryhtnes*, El. 1009, furthermore *on þam stedewange / girwan godes tempel*, 1021. Some kind of a building, though a monastery is probably meant, is indicated Gu. 461, the saint observing the *rume regulas and reþe mod / geongra monna in godes templum*.

⁶ For OHG. terms compare Raumer, p. 303 ff., for ON. Kahle, I, 346 ff., II, 118 ff.

⁷ *Gebedstōw* will be treated in chapter VI.

⁸ But see Bright, *Modern L. Notes*, XIII, p. 27, where he explains that the passage refers to a large round church with its porches on the Mt. of Olives, the inner house remaining uncovered on account of the passage of our Lord's body. Taken from the first traveller's account of the Holy Land, with which the poet may have been acquainted. See also note on line 495, p. 122 ff. in Cook's *Christ*.

80. More often we have the term as a designation of the Jewish temple, as in And. 667, *þa we becomon to þam cynestole, / þær getimbred was tempel dryhtnes / heah and horngeap*, also 707, *he in temple gestod*. Cr. 186 Joseph speaks of having received Mary as a virgin of *þam torhtan temple dryhtnes*, while 1139 *þas temples segl* is mentioned, characterized 1135 as *godwebba cyst*. The passage Men. 22 also refers to a Jewish sanctuary, mentioning that Mary *beorn wealdendes brohte to temple*. Specific references to Solomon's temple are furnished in *Daniel*, the enemies *bereafodon þa receda wuldor readan golde, / since and seolfre Salomones templ*, 60, when *ða hie tempel strudon, / Salomanes seld*, 711. Daniel in his speech mentions not only the golden vessels which have been stolen, but also that they were stored near the most sacred article of the Jewish sanctuary, the ark, *ða ær Israela in æ hæfdon / æt godes earce*, Dan. 751-2, the only other occurrence of this meaning of the term in the poetry being El. 399.

81. In the *Psalms* *tempel* is sometimes used synonymously with *godes hūs*, *his hālige hūs*, *fāle hūs*, *Crīstes hūs*, and similar terms. Thus we have, *Ealle we ðin hus ecum godum fægere fyllað: fæste is þin templ ece and wræclīc awa to feore (templum tuum)*, LXIV, 5, *on þinum temple tidum gehalgod (a templo tuo)*, LXVII, 26, and *Eac ic þin tempel tidum weorðige þæt hālige hus holde mode (adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum)*, CXXXVII, 2.

82. A word twice used to designate Solomon's temple is *ealh*, *alh*, m., so in Ps. LXXVIII, 1, *þa þin fāle hus ealh hāligne yfele gewēmdan (templum sanctum tuum)*, as also in the fulsome praise of it Ex. 391-5, *getimbrede tempel gode, / alh hāligne, . . . / . . . / heahst and hāligost, hāleðum gefrægost, / mæst and mærost*. The same term is employed once in a compound denoting places of heathen worship, *diofolgild, / ealde eolhstedas anforlætan*, And. 1642.

83. In the *Psalms* there are further renderings of the Jewish sanctuary or indications of certain parts or furniture, though they are few. The tabernacle at Shiloh is referred to in *he þa swa gelome wiðsoc snytruhūse, was his agen hus (tabernaculum)*, LXXVII, 60. *Hālignes* renders *sanctuarium* LXXXII, 9; *atriā* is translated by *wictunas*, XCV, 8, the oblique *atriis* by *on wictunum* XCIX, 3, though generally *atriis* is expressed by *on cafertunum*, as in *on þinum cafertunum*, CXXI, 2, *on cafertunum Crīstes huses*, CXXXIII, 2, CXXXIV, 2. A rather general term is *on hālgum (in sancto)*, as LXII, 2, LXVII, 23, etc. Other designations are also encountered, but they are of such a nature that we need not list them.

84. In addition to the ark of the covenant, the altar of the Jewish temple is mentioned several times. The term is *wigbed*, nm., originally holy table or sacrifice table. *Wigbedu* Ps. LXXXIII, 4, renders *altaria*, while we have *oð wigbedes wræste hornas (ad cornu altaris)* CXVII, 25, and *hio*

ðæt halige cealf / on wibed þin willum asettað (*tunc imponent super altare tuum vitulos*), Ps. L. 138. In *Genesis* the same term is used for Abraham's altars, as may be seen from *þa se rinc gode / wibed worhte*, 1791, *Abraham þa oðere siðe / wibed worhte*, 1806, characterized in *on þam gledstýde* 1810; *wibed* occurs also 1882, while we have *weobedd worhte and his waldende / on þam glædstede gild onsægde*, 2841-2. As a designation of heathen altar the word does not seem to occur, though the use of *wig(wih)*, n., either alone or in compounds, denoting idols, heathen worship or sacrifice, is common enough.⁹

85. Three times in the poetry the term *mynster*, n., is found. It is likely that in one place it has kept the meaning originally attached to it, namely the dwelling place of the monks (*mynster* from **munistrjo*, Vulgar L. **monisterium*, L. *monasterium*).¹⁰ We have (*he—sceawode*) *under haligra hyrda gewealdum / in mynsterum monna gebæru* Gu. 387, and as here and 461, *rume regulas and reþe mod / geongra monna in godes templum*, the same objects are described, it would seem that monasteries are referred to.

86. But in the two other examples a church building must be assumed. So Men. 106, *Nu on Brytene rest / on Cantwarum cynestole neah / mynstre mærum*, where St. Augustine's resting place is pointed out. To be sure, Grein glosses it with *monasterium*, but the glorious *mynster* can be nothing else than the splendid church in which the archbishop was buried.¹¹ From an early time this connotation of the term is available, the *NED.* quoting the first example c.960, Laws of K. Edgar I, 1: *Man agife ælce teoðunge to þam ealdan mynstre* (Lat. *ad matrem ecclesiam*) *þe seo hyrnes tokyrð*. The interpretation church building is also demanded in the passage *Eardiað at ðem eadigen in ðem minstre / unarimeda reliquia, / monia wundrum gewurðad*, Durham 17, which the Latin prose account describing the burial place of the saints resting in the cathedral at Durham renders very probable, if not certain.¹² The term *mynster*, though at first only used of a church having its origin in a monastic establishment, came to be applied later to any church of considerable size or importance.

87. In Chr. IV parts of a church at a monastery are mentioned. The imprisoned king is buried *æt þam westende, þam styple ful gehende / on þam suðþortice*, 24-5, for we have been informed *þæt man hine lædde / to Eligbyrig swa gebundenne*, 17-18, and *hine swa blindne brohte to ðam munecon*, 20.

⁹ See chapter VIII, 326.

¹⁰ *NED.*

¹¹ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book II, ch. 3. Compare also the discussion of the meaning of *mynster* in Kahle, I, p. 349 f. See also B-T.

¹² Wuelker, *Grundriss*, p. 346.

CHAPTER V

FESTIVALS AND HOLY SEASONS

88. In general, it may be assumed that the expression *hālige dagas* served as a designation for the holy seasons and festivals of the Church, illustrated by such a passage as *ac sceal wintrum frod / on circule cræfte findan / hālige dagas*, Men. 66-8, just as in OHG. *wīhe taga* or *heilēge taga* and in ON. *helgar tíðer* is employed. Aside from the *Menology*, which gives a catalog of *hāligra tíid* that are to be observed according to the edict of the Saxon king, references to holy days and seasons in OE. poetry are extremely rare.¹

89. Of the days of the week we have Sunday mentioned as *sunnan-dæg* (*dies solis*), the OHG. *sunnun tag*, which seems to be entirely identified with the Hebrew Sabbath, as is gathered from Dox. 24-6, (*and on þone seofodan þu geresest*). *þa was geforðad þin fægere weorc / and ðu sunnan-dæg sylf halgodeð / and gemærsodeð hine manegum to helpe*. In reality, the first day of the week came to be celebrated as the principal day for public worship in memory of the resurrection of Christ. The setting apart of a day for public worship would be introduced into England by the missionaries, and the *Doxology* shows that the custom was well established, *þone heahan dæg healdað and freoðiaþ / ealle, þa ðe cunnon cristene þeawas, / hāligne heortlufan and ðæs hehstan gebod*, 27-29.

90. In discussing the festivals mentioned, we shall follow the *Menology* in beginning with Christmas. The word *Crīstes mæsse* does not come into use until a late period, the first occurrence recorded by the *NED.* being for the year 1101 in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, a situation paralleled in OHG., where the term does not occur at all, though Raumer² asserts, without furnishing the least proof, that it undoubtedly was in use. In OE. the date was fixed on the 25th of December, Men. 226-7, and the birth of Christ is mentioned Men. 2 as *on midne winter*.³ From Bede's statement we gather that the day was celebrated among the Christian Angles, but long before it had been a festival among the heathen, who on that day began their year: "(*Antiqui autem Anglorum populi*) *Incipiebant autem annum ab octavo Calendarum Ianuariarum die, ubi nunc natale Domini celebramus. Et ipsam noctem nunc nobis sacrosanctam, tunc gentili vocabulo Modranicht,*

¹ For OHG. compare Raumer, p. 306 ff., for ON. Kahle, I, 353 ff.

² *Einwirkung des Christentums*, etc., p. 307.

³ Not to be considered a general term, but having the more specific meaning of Christmas. See *Bibl.* II, p. 282, note.

id est, matrum noctem, appellabant, ob causam, ut suspicamur, ceremoniarum quas in ea pervigiles agebant."⁴

91. During the first centuries of the Christian era Epiphany served as the celebration of the physical birth of Christ as well as of the spiritual, and of several other occurrences in the life of the Lord. It was observed on the 6th of January, and came to be looked upon in England as the *fulwihttiid / eces drihtnes, . . . / þæne 'twelfsta dæg' tireadige / hæleð heaðurofe hatað on Brylene*, Men. 11-14, namely the twelfth day after the birth of Christ, that date having become fixed on the 25th of December.

92. On the second of February the most ancient of all the festivals in honor of the Virgin Mary was celebrated. Reference to it is made in *we Marian mæssan healdað, / cyninges modor*, Men. 20. OE. *mæsse*, f., is from Vulgar L. *missa*, Eccl. L. *missa*. It is generally thought that L. *missa* is a verbal substantive formed like *repulsa* etc. In the early centuries it was used in the general meaning of religious service, though in an eminent sense it always denoted the Eucharist, the celebration of the mass.⁵ In the East the second of February was primarily a festival of the Lord, while in the West the Virgin stood in the foreground, though even here the antiphons and the responsories remind one of the original idea, which is also present in the passage *forþan heo (Mary) Crist on þam dæge, bearn wealdendes brohte to temple*, Men. 21-22. Originally the festival had been celebrated on the 14th of February, forty days after the nativity of Christ, but with the shifting of that date to the 25th of December, Marymas was moved accordingly to the 2nd of February.⁶

93. The great festival of the church year was Easter, the memorial of the resurrection of Christ. While mention of his resurrection is not infrequent, as for instance *on þam oflust cymð / seo mære tiid mannum to frofre, / drihtnes arið*, Men. 56-8, the term *ēastor*, frequent in prose, occurs in the poetry only in compounds, and then only a few times. The occurrences are, *þæs þe Ēastermōnað to us cymeð*, Men. 72, *wendan (Jews) þæt he on þam beorge bidan sceolde / ana in þære ēasterniht*, Har. 15, and *he of deaðe aras / onwald of eorðan in þa ēastortīd*, Gu. 1075. As in the case of Christmas, the heathen Angles celebrated a festival at this time in honor of *Ēostre*, the goddess of dawn or of the rising sun, our scanty information being derived again from Bede. In ch. 15 (*De mensibus Anglorum*) of the *De Temporum Ratione*⁷ he tells us: "*Rhed-monath a dea illorum Rheda, cui in illo sacrificabant, nominatur; Eostur-monath, qui nunc paschalis mensis interpretatur, quondam a dea illorum quae Eostre*

⁴ *De Temporum Ratione*, ch. 15, Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae*, XC, p. 356.

⁵ *NED*.

⁶ *Encyclopaedia Britannica and Catholic Encyclopedia*.

⁷ Migne, *Patrologiae Latinae*, XC, p. 357.

vocabatur, et cui in illo festa celebrabant, nomen habuit, a cujus nomine nunc paschale tempus cognominant, consueto antiquae observationis vocabulo gaudia novae solemnitatis vocantes."

94. Though there are few references to Easter in the extant poetry, the importance of the festival and also the paschal controversy, which stirred the Christians of England until the question was finally decided in favor of the Roman party, (Whitby, 664), would have a tendency to put it into the foreground.

95. In the *Menology* a festival is mentioned in *martira gemynd*, . . . 69, *þæt embe nihgontyne niht, / þæs þe Eastormonað to us cymeð, / þæt man reliquias ræran onginneð, / halige gehyrste : þæt is healic dæg, / bentiid bremu*, 71-5. This seems to have been an important day, though in our poem a different date than the one fixed later is mentioned. "According to the Sarum Breviary, the *Festum Reliquiarum* was celebrated on the Sunday after the feast of the Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury (July 7), and it was to be kept as a greater double 'wherever relics are preserved or where the bodies of dead persons are buried.'"⁸

96. Relics are only twice referred to in OE. poetry, the learned term *reliquias*, m., being used, though the subject must have occupied a prominent place in the mind of both ecclesiastics and the people. Already at the establishment of the OE. Church they are mentioned.⁹ The cult increased in the following centuries, and "at the beginning of the 9th century . . . the exportation of the bodies of martyrs from Rome had assumed the dimensions of a regular commerce," as "many unprincipled persons found a means of enriching themselves by a sort of trade in these objects of devotion, the majority of which no doubt were fraudulent."¹⁰ Aside from the mentioning of relics in the *Menology*, quoted in the preceding paragraph, we have also *Eardiað æt ðem eadigen in ðem minstre / unarimeda reliquia, / monia wundrum gewurðad*, Durham 18. Durham thus possessed a good collection of the prized remains, which would add to its sanctity and attractiveness, for "there was a keen rivalry between religious centers and an eager credulity fostered by the desire to be known as the possessors of some unusually startling relic!"¹¹ To gain possession of a prized relic, with its subsequent fame and profit, was the eager desire of church authorities and monasteries, and in their dealings they were not always above trickery and plain stealing. The presence of Bede's remains at Durham is a good case in point.¹²

⁸ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, under *relics*.

⁹ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book I, ch. 29.

¹⁰ *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Preface to Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, by Giles, p. XXII.

97. Forty days after Easter, the ascension of Christ would be celebrated. But though that fact is mentioned in several places, as Men. 64-5, little is made of the festival in the poetry. Pentecost as the Christian festival is only once referred to in the poetry, under the year 973 in Chr. III, A, 8, *þær was blis mycel / on þam eadgan dæge eallum geworden, / þone niða bearn nemnað and cegeað / Pentecostenes dæg*. The term is a late adoption, the *NED.* citing its first occurrence in the *Homilies* of Ælfric (a.1000).

98. In the *Menology* a number of saints' days are mentioned. So for instance in *þænne wuldres þegn / ymb þreotyne, þeodnes dyrling, / Johannes in geardagan wearð acenned, / tyn nihtum eac: we þa tiid healdað / on midne sumor mycles on æpelum*, 115-19. Immediately after, the *haligra tiid* . . . *Petrus and Paulus* is discussed. On the first of August would come *hlaf-mæssan dæg* (Lammas), 140, in the early English Church celebrated as a harvest festival, at which loaves of bread, made from the first ripe wheat, were consecrated. In the Roman Calendar it is the festival of St. Peter's Chains, originally a dedication feast of a church of the apostle at Rome, perhaps held on that day or selected to replace the heathen festivities that occurred on the first day of August.¹³ In the *Menology* the harvest season is emphasized in connection with the day.

99. Among other days *heahengles tiid in hærfeste, / Michaeles*, (29th of September), is mentioned 177-8, at that time a holy day of obligation. A very important festival occurred on the first of November, *And þy ylcan dæge ealra we healdað / Sancta symbel, þara þe sið oððe ær / worhtan in worulde willan drihtnes*, 200. Originally each saint had his celebration in certain limited sections of the country, but in order that nobody should be overlooked, and to supply any deficiency in the celebration of saints' feasts during the year, a solemn festival in honor of all the saints, known and unknown, was instituted.¹⁴ This of course would not abolish *haligra tiid*, but only serve to correct any possible oversight.

¹³ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, under *Peter's Chains, The Feast of*.

¹⁴ *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

CHAPTER VI

THE SPIRITUAL SIDE OF THE CHURCH

I. WORSHIP

100. The most general term for serving God¹ is *þēowan*, to serve, used for instance in *þa þam cyninge* (namely God) *þeowað*, Gu. 62, as also *dryhtne þeowde*, 712. In a religious sense the compound *þēowdōm* occurs El. 201, in *godes þeowdom*, referring to the zeal of the newly converted emperor Constantine. Once we have another compound, *þēowet*, mn., L. Prayer III, 98, though not denoting service of God, for the passage reads *deofles þeowet*. More often *þēowian* is employed. We note, *gode þeowian*, Gen. 264, and *þeodne þeowian*, 268. In a somewhat general sense of serving God the all-ruling power we find the verb in *þæt hi þiowien swilcum þioðfruman*, Met. XXIX, 94, and *hiora ordfruman / ne þiowoden*, *þeodne mærum*, 99, as also *and blisse gode bealde þeowie* (*servite Domino*), Ps. XCIX, 1.

101. In the services of the Anglo-Saxon Church, in common with the early Mediaeval Church, the mass had begun to occupy the most prominent place. In prose the idea is often expressed by *mæsse*, the etymology of which has been considered in the preceding chapter.² However, this word occurs only twice in the poetry, *Marian mæssan*, Men. 20, and *hlafmæssan dæg*, 140, where it has the derived meaning of festival, and not that of the Eucharist, to which it was originally applied. As we have seen before,³ the term *mæssere* is used in the poetry only in a secondary meaning. And the sacrifice of the mass is only once clearly referred to.

102. More and more the celebration of the Lord's Supper came to be looked upon as a repetition, though bloodless, of the original sacrifice of Christ on the cross. An OE. word used for heathen and Jewish sacrifice alike is *lāc*, probably connected with **laiko*, to play, to dance, as applied to actions which would accompany the offering of sacrifices and hence might be transferred to the sacrifice itself.⁴ In this sense of offering, sacrifice, as applied to heathen gods, the term is used for instance in *þæt þu lac hraþe / onsecge sigortifre*, Jul. 254-5. In *Genesis* there are a number of examples, as 975-6, referring to the sacrifice brought by Cain and Abel, 1497 ff., by Noah, and 1792, applied to Abraham's offering, etc. In the

¹ For terms of worship in OHG. compare Raumer, p. 309 ff., for ON. Kahle, I, p. 358 ff.

² Under *Marymas*, 92.

³ Chapter III, 59.

⁴ See Grimm, *D.M.*, I, p. 32, also B.-T. under *lāc* and the *NED.* under *lake*. The sense of offering, sacrifice, is found only in OE.

Psalms it occurs a number of times, thus, *æton deadra lac* (*sacrificia mortuorum*), CV, 22, applied to the heathen worship of the Children of Israel, and *þæt ic þe laces lof lustum secge* (*tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis*), CXV, 7. There we have also the poetic *æfenlāc* (*sacrificium vespertinum*), CXL, 3, and *bernelāc* . . . / *deadra neata* (*holocaustis*), L. 123. Keeping in mind that the mass was conceived of as a sacrifice, we are not surprised to find that it is said of the saint in Gu. 1084, *lac onsægde* / . . . / *gæstgerynum in godes temple*. Otherwise the idea of the mass thus expressed would not seem to occur in the poetry.

103. *Onseccan*, to vow or sacrifice, we have in the example just quoted. It is used both in a heathen and non-heathen sense; for the former, we note *þæt þu lac hraþe / onsecge sigortifre*, Jul. 255, for the latter *þu scealt Isaac me / onseccan, sunu ðinne sylf to tibre*, Gen. 2852. *Tifer*, n., in the sense of sacrifice, is used a few times, so in the preceding passage, as *halig tiber* Ex. 415, etc. Compounds such as *sigetiber* also occur.

104. Next to the mass, preaching would form an important part of the services, and in the missionary period might even seem to overshadow the former. For obvious reasons we do not confine ourselves to terms that indicate a particular and definite function in a well ordered service. The most general term used would be to teach, as exemplified Jul. 638, where it is said of the saint *Ongon heo þa læran*. Similarly we find *leode lærde on lifes weg*, And. 170, *þegnas lærde*, 462, and *Lærde þa þa leode on geleafan weg*, 1680, etc. A general term is also *bodian*, to bring or announce a message, used in Christ's missionary command to his disciples, *bodiað and bremað beorhtne geleafan*, Cr. 483, as also *Bodiað æfter burgum beorhtne geleafan*, And. 335. However, more often the word occurs in the general meaning of to announce, tell, and seldom in the strict sense of *evangelizare*. Other phrases are used extensively, sometimes indicating the result of the effort. Thus we have, *þe ðu gehweorfest to heofonleohte / þurh minne naman*, And. 974-5, *stepton hie soðcwidum*, Dan. 446, *þam þe his spel berað*, 479, *hie dryhtnes æ deman sceoldon*, / *reccan fore rincan*, Ap. 10-11, as also *þær ic dryhtnes æ deman sceolde*, And. 1403. We have also for example such statements as *þanon Israhelum ece rædas* / . . . / *heahþungen wer halige spræce*, / *deop ærende*, Ex. 515-18, but these and similar expressions hardly need any further treatment. *Godspellian* will be discussed in connection with *godspel*.

105. For the preacher occur such terms as *boda*, the compound *spelboda* having been noted before as designation of the Twelve.⁵ In *Guthlac* there is a reference to the saint as *eadgum æbodan*, 909, and as *epelbodan* . . . / *þone leofestan lareow gecorene*, 976. *Lārēow*, teacher, occurs also elsewhere.

⁵ Chapter II, under IV, 34.

106. Prayer, the communion of the faithful with God, forms a very important part in the service of the Lord. This act is often expressed in OE. by *biddan*, the OHG. term being *bittan*, ON. *bipja*. The OE. word has various shades of meaning, being used to render such Latin terms as *petere*, *poscere*, *precari*, *deprecari*, *rogare*, *postulare*. As *biddan* is so extremely common in the poetry, a few characteristic examples will suffice. Thus we have the construction with the accusative of the person and the genitive of the thing prayed for, *Abraham ongan arra biddan / ecne drihten*, Gen. 2750, with the dative of the person for whom one prays, (*þæt ge*) *eow lif-frean lissa bidde*, Ex. 271. A preposition is used Cr. 1353, *eaðmode to eow arna bædun*, while in Ap. 89-91, in seeking help of the apostles, the author asks another *þæt he geomrum me / þone halgan heap helpe bidde, / friðes and fultomes*, several features being illustrated in one sentence. From the *Psalms* we quote, *bædan (ut peterent)*, LXXVII, 20, *Biddað eow (rogate)*, CXXI, 6, and (*ic*) *eam biddende bealde drihten (ad Dominum deprecatus sum)*, CXLI, 1.

107. *Gebiddan*, in the sense of *orare*, *adorare*, is also used a number of times, especially in the *Psalms*. We have, *gebiddað him to þissum beacne*, Rood B, 83, *Gebæd ic me to þan beame*, 122, and *gebidde me to þe, bearna selost*, Prayer III, 48. We note further, *ic to ðe, ece drihten, soðum gebidde (ad te orabo)*, Ps. V, 2, and *ne þu fremedne god fylsta gebiddest (neque adorabis deum alienum)*, LXXX, 9. Once *ābiddan* in the sense of to intercede occurs, *he abiddan mæg*, Gen. 2660.

108. From the same stem we find the noun *gebed*, n., which occurs a number of times. In Jul. 388 the spiritual warrior is called *beald in gebede*. We have, *begen þa gebroðor to gebede hyldon*, And. 1027, *Hwilum to gebede feollon / . . . and sigedrihten / godne gretton*, Gen. 777, similarly 847; and *gebedu seceð / clænum gehygdum and his cneo bigeð*, Ph. 458-9. The Pater Noster is characterized in *mid ðy beorhtan gebede*, Sal. 43. Prayer acquires the quality of praise Dan. 406, *We ðec herigað, halig drihten, / and gebedum bremað*. In Exhortation 8 the noun is modified, *þæt halige gebed*, as also in *hold gebed*, Ps. CI, 15, where the Vulgate has only *precem*. We note further from the *Psalms*, *God, min gebed (orationem meam)*, LIII, 2, *min gebed (orationem meam)*, LX, 4, similarly LXVIII, 13, etc.; *gehyr min gebed (precem meam)*, LXXXVII, 2.

109. *Ingebed* is found once, *Gange min ingebed on þin gleawe gesihð*, Ps. LXXXVII, 2, the Latin *Intret in conspectu tuo oratio mea* probably explaining the form.

110. Of other compounds there occurs *gebedstōw*, the place of prayer. Only two examples are encountered, *ne mæg / . . . lenge gewunian / in gebedstowe*, Jul. 376, and *þænne ic synful slea swiðe mid fyste / breost mine, beate on gebedstowe (percutiam pugnīs rea pectora, 14)*, Doom 30.

111. Another term for prayer is *bēn*, f., ON. *bōn*, a word not found in the other Germanic languages. A few characteristic examples will suffice. Used by men to men we have, *ic bidde eow benum nu ða* (*vos precor*, 16), Doom 33. In a religious sense we note, *let his ben cuman in ða beorhtan gesceaft*, Gu. 749, similarly El. 1088; *sendon hira bene fore bearn godes*, And. 1028, and similarly 1613. Of the thief on the cross it is said, *his bena bebead breostgehgudum* (*verba precantia clamat*, 30), Doom 60. From the *Psalms* we note, *he heora bene bealde gehyrde* (*orationem*), CV, 33, similarly CI, 15; *ne forseoh æfre sariges bene* (*deprecationem meam*), LIV, 1, *ingange min ben* (*inret postulatio mea*), CXVIII, 170. *Gebedes bene*, CXIV, 1, renders *vocem orationis*, in CXXIX, 1, *vocem deprecationis*.

112. Of compounds occur *eaðbede*, found once, *wes þinum scealcum wel eaðbede* (*deprecabilis esto super servos tuos*), Ps. LXXXIX, 15, and the poetic *bēntid*, encountered only once, *þæt* (festival in honor of the relics) *is healic dæg*, / *bentiid bremu*, Men. 75.

113. The noun *bēna*, petitioner, is also found. In a religious sense it occurs in *swa þu bena eart* / *þinum frumbearne*, Gen. 2357, as also *helpys benan*, Ps. CI, 2.

114. Among the prayers the Pater Noster naturally occupied a prominent place. Three different poetic versions are extant; it also plays an important part in *Salomon and Saturn*. There it is called *se gepalmtwigoda Pater Noster*, 12, *þæt gepalmtwigode Pater Noster*, 39, while we have *Pater Noster* and *þæt Palmtreow* 167. The term *cantic*, m., used in *Ic niwllice niwne cantic singe*, Ps. CXLI, 10, in the general sense of Latin *canticum*, is applied to it several times. Thus we have, *ðurh þæs cantices cwyde Cristes linan*, Sal. 17, *ðone cantic*, 24, and *Forðon hafað se cantic ofer ealle Cristes bec* / *widmærost word*, 49.

115. *Amen* is taken over directly from the Latin and used a considerable number of times, as in *L. Prayer*, *Doxology*, etc., etc. There seems to be an explanation of it in the passage *We þæt 'soðlice' secgað ealle*, Dox. 51, as also in *'Weorðe þæt'*, *L. Prayer* II, 37.

116. A number of terms related to prayer and praise are given here, some of which are also used in a more general sense. The specific religious meaning is generally suggested by the context.

117. *Cleopian*, in the sense of *clamare*, to call upon, is common. We note only a few examples. *Forðam we clypiað to þe*, *L. Prayer* III, 2, *to suna metudes* / *wordum cleopodon*, El. 1318, *ic me to wuldres gode þuruh healne dæg elne clypige* (*clamavi ad te Domine tota die*), Ps. LXXXVII, 9, etc., etc. The noun *clypung* is met with once, *ongyt mine clypunga* (*intellige clamorem meum*), Ps. V, 1.

118. *Hālsian*, *healsian*, to adjure, to call upon, is also used a number of times in relation to God. Thus, *Swylce ic þe halsige, hælend user, / fore þinum cildhade*, Har. 118, and *Ac ic þe halsige nu, heofena drihten*, Prayer III, 47. The noun *hālsung* is only once found in poetry, *mid earum onfoh . . . mine halsunge (obsecrationem meam)*, Ps. CXLII, 1.

119. *Cīgan*, with its variant forms, in the religious sense to call upon, is especially prominent in the *Psalms*. We quote, *ne hio god willað georne ciegan (Deum non invocaverunt)*, LII, 5, *naman þinne neode ciegen (invocabimus nomen tuum)*, LXXIV, 1, similarly LXXIX, 17, etc. The form *gecīgan* also occurs a few times in the *Psalms* as well as in Ph. 454, *him dryhten gecygd / fæder on fultum*.

120. *Andettan* (and & *hātan*), with its variants, in the sense of Latin *confiteri*, is very common in the *Psalms*, though rarely found elsewhere. We note, *Ic þe andette, ælmihtig god, / þæt ic gelyfe on þe*, Prayer III, 36, *Ic þe andette awa to feore (confitebor tibi)*, Ps. LI, 8, *þe ondetten ealle þeoda (confiteantur)*, LXVI, 3. The compound *mægenandettan* occurs once, *Forþon ðe mannes geþoht mægenandetteð (confitebitur)*, Ps. LXXV, 7.

121. The noun *andettes*, L. *confessio*, is very rare, occurring only a few times in the *Psalms*. We have it in *Ys on þinre gesikhðe soð andettes (confessio)*, XCV, 6, *him andettes æghwær habban (ad confitendum)*, CXXI, 4, and *is upp ahasen his andetness (confessio ejus)*, CXLVIII, 13. The compound *whiteandet* occurs once, Ps. CIII, 2, where *þu þe weorðlice whiteandette gode gegyrest* renders the Latin *confessionem et decorem induisti*.

122. *Ærendian*, to intercede, plead a cause, is found Gen. 665, where Eve tells Adam concerning the devil disguised as an angel, *Unc is his hyldo þearf: / he mæg unc ærendian to þam alwaldan / heofoncynninge*.

123. *Gegyrnan*, to entreat, beg, we find Gu. 229, *Ic me frið wille / æt gode gegyrnan*, also 43, *gegyrnað*.

124. The idea of offering thanks is expressed a considerable number of times by *þancean*. Only a few examples need be given here. We have, *gode þancedon*, Beow. 227, similarly 1397, 1626, etc., *sceolde his drihtine þancian / þæs leanes*, Gen. 257, *þæt he þara gifena gode þancode*, Dan. 86, *þe þonne lustum lofe þanciað (hymnum dicent)*, Ps. LXIV, 14.

125. Very often the noun *þanc*, m., with some verb is used. A few examples may illustrate. *Sægde meotude þanc*, And. 1469, *saga ecne þonc / mærum meotodes sunu, þæt ic his modor gewearð*, Cr. 209, *sægde ealles þonc / dryhtina dryhtne*, Jul. 593. We note further, *Sie ðe ðanc and lof, þeoda waldend*, And. 1451. Compounds are common, but they need no discussion.

126. Among the terms expressing worship or praise *herian*, rendering the L. *laudare*, *celebrare*, is extremely common in the poetry. Only a few examples need be given here. *Þæt hi lof godes / hergan on heahþu*, Judg. 48, *We ðe heriað halgum stefnum*, Hymn 7, and *þe þurh ænne gepanc ealdor heriað*, Creed 50. *Cædmon's Hymn* begins with *Nu sculon herigean heofonrices weard. Se halga wer hergende was / metodes milse*, we have Dan. 334, while the persecutor *geat on græsgewong god hergendra (blod)*, Jul. 6. From the *Psalms* may be noted *Herige Hierusalem georne drihten! here þu Sion swylce þinne soðne god (lauda . . . lauda)!* CXLVII, 1, and *Ic on god min word georne herige (laudabo)*, LV, 9, etc., etc. The form *geherian* also occurs, as, *se þurh ðone cantic ne can Crist geherian*, Sal. 24, while *āherian*, to praise adequately, sufficiently, is encountered only once, *Ne mæg þe āherian haleða ænig*, Prayer III, 10.

127. Of the noun *herenes* only a few examples are found, most of them in the *Psalms*. *On herenisse (laudationes)*, Ps. LV, 10, *herenes drihtnes (laudatio ejus)*, CX, 8, *herenes (laus)*, CXVII, 14, *his herenes (laus ejus)*, CXLIX, 1; *herenes min* renders *eloquium meum* CIII, 32. In the other OE. poems the term is found Cr. 415, *þe in heahþum sie / a butan ende ece herenis*, and Gu. 588, *(ge sceolon) heaf in helle nales herenisse / halge habban heofoncyniges*.

128. *Weorðian*, expressing honor or worship in the religious sense, is employed very many times, though it does not always pertain to God, but may embrace worship or praise of the Rood, etc. We note, *þæt he ne wolde wereda drihtnes / word wurðian*, Gen. 353, and *hæfdon* (heathen nations) *heora hlaforð for þone hehstan god / and weorðodon swa swa wuldres cyning*, Met. XXVI, 45; *ac ic weorðige wuldres ealdor (adoro)*, Jul. 153, and *we naman þinne on ecnesse a weorðien (honorificabo)*, Ps. LXXXV, 11.

129. In the sense of *celebrare*, *laudare*, the term occurs a number of times, thus, *þær se eadga eft ecan drihtnes / niwan stefnum noman weorðode*, Gen. 1886, *weorðian waldend wide and side*, Cr. 394, *wyrðode wordum wuldres aldor / . . . halgan stefnum*, And. 55, and *þær þa æðelingas / wordum weorðodon wuldres aldor*, 806. From the *Psalms* may be quoted, *ic ealne dæg ecne drihten wordum weorðige (laudabo)*, LV, 9, and *weorðiað his naman (psallite nomini ejus)*, CXXXIV, 3.

130. *Geweorðian* in the sense of *adorare*, *celebrare*, is also found a number of times, as, *þæt ge gewurðien wuldres aldor*, Ex. 270, *þu gewurðod eart / on heofonrice, heah casere*, L. Prayer III, 59, as also *Geweorðie wuldres ealdor eall ðeos eorþe (adoret)*, Ps. LXV, 3, etc.

131. To express praise the verb *lofian* is often used, though the noun *lof* is still more common. We cite, *þec dæg and niht, . . . / lofigen and*

lufigen, Az. 100, *ðe þone ahangnan cyning heriaþ and lofiað*, El. 453, similarly L. Prayer III, 116. We note further, *And þec, mihtig god, gastas lofige*, Dan. 373, *lofiað liffrean*, 396; *mine weleras gefeoð, wynnnum lofiað*, Ps. LXX, 21, renders *exultabunt labia mea*.

132. The noun *lof*, n., either alone or modified, is used with verbs, and the following examples may illustrate various terms employed. *Hyre wæs Cristes lof*, Jul. 233, *his lof rærest*, 48, *he dryhtnes lof / reahste and rærde*, Gu. 130-31, (*þær wæs*) *godes lof hafan*, Jul. 693, *þæt he lof godes / hergan on heahpu*, Judg. 47-8, *lixende lof in þa longan tid*, Wonders 49, *þin lof lædað*, L. Prayer III, 25, *þin halige lof*, 32, *þin lof berað*, And. 1295, *Lof sceolde he drihtnes wyrcean*, Gen. 256, *him lof singe*, Gu. 581, *sungon sige-dryhtne soðfæstlic lof*, And. 877. From the *Psalms* we note, *laces lof lustum bringan* (*et sacrificent sacrificium laudis*), CVI, 21, *ic þe laces lof lustum secge* (*tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis*), CXV, 7, *þe þonne lustum lofe þanciað* (*hymnum dicent*), LXIV, 14, etc., etc.

133. Of compounds we find the poetic *lofmægen*, occurring only once, *spedlice eall his lofmægen leode gehyran* (*omnes laudes ejus*), Ps. CV, 2, and once also the poetic *lofsum*, praiseworthy, Gen. 468, characterizing the tree of life in Paradise.

134. *Lofsang* occurs a number of times, as, *mæg on lofsongum lifes waldend / hlude hergan* (said of singing in the church), Gifts 92; the saint is buried (with) *lofsongum*, Jul. 689. We note also, *þonne halige men / lifendum gode lofsang doð*, Soul 69, (*ealle hofan*) . . . *lofsonga word*, Sat. 155. The other examples are found in the *Psalms*. *Lustice lofsang cweðan* (*laudem dixi*), CXVIII, 164, *mid lofsange læde* (*in laude*), LXVIII, 31, *mid lofsangum* (*in hymnis*), XCIX, 3, *him lofsangum lustum cwemdan* (*et laudaverunt laudem ejus*), CV, 11.

135. *Wuldrian*, to glorify, praise, occurs twice, *wuldriað / æpelne ordfruman ealra gesceafta*, Cr. 401, and *Wuton wuldrian weorada dryhten*, Hymn 1. *Gewuldrian* is found in *þu bist gewuldrad god* (*glorificatur*), Ps. LXXXVIII, 6, and (*ic*) *his naman swylce gewuldrige* (*glorificabo*), XC, 16.

136. *Mærsian* is used in the *Psalms* a few times, the examples giving the connotation it has in each case, *weorc godes wide mærsian* (*annuntiauerunt*), LXIII, 8, *wuldor þin wide mærsian* (*cantem*), LXX, 7, *þine mægenstrengðu mærsien wide* (*narrabunt*). CXLIV, 6. To these may be added the only further example found in the poetry, *heofoncyninges / meahle mærsiað*, Ph. 617. *Gemærsian* also occurs a few times. Used of God's hallowing Sunday it is found Dox. 26. We note as other occurrences, *is þin nama halig*, / *wuldre gewlitigad ofer werpeoda*, / *miltsum gemærsod*, And. 544, and *swa is þin æpele gecynd / miclum gemærsod*, L. Prayer III, 44.

137. *Bletsian* and *gebletsian*, in the sense of Latin *benedicere*, not confined to man, but also used of plants, etc., is quite common. We note, *bletsige þec, soðfæst cyning*. Az. 77, *bædon bleksian bearn Israela*, Dan. 359, *ic bletsige . . . / lifes leohtfruman*, Gu. 580, *we blætsiað bilewitne feder*, Hymn 8, *his soðne naman bealde bletsiað*, Ps. XCV. 2, *we lifigende leofne dryhten balde bletsigað (benedicimus Domino)*, CXIII, 25, etc. Of *gebletsian* may be noted, *Ðe gebletsige (animals, things, etc.) bylywit fæder*, Dan. 363. Other examples could easily be added.

II. THE SACRAMENTS

138. Of the traditional seven sacraments of the Mediaeval Church only Baptism and the Lord's Supper appear formally in the poetry, the references to the *poenitentia* to be treated in chapter X.⁶

139. The Greek βαπτίζειν, βάπτισμα, was taken over by the Latin as *baptizare, baptisma, baptismus*. In OE. this word was not borrowed from the Latin, though later it is taken over and ousts the native terms. OE. used *fullwian, fulwian, fullian*, to consecrate fully, composed of the adverb *full* and the Teut. **wihējan, wihjan*, to consecrate, from **wīho*, appearing in OS. and OHG. as *wih*, Gothic *weihs*, holy.⁷ According to an ancient custom of the Church, those who desired to enter the lists of the catechumens and were not fully ready to receive baptism, were marked with the sign of the cross, in prose expressed by *crīstnian*.⁸ Later, when they were considered fully prepared, they received the *fullwiht*, the full consecration, or baptism.

140. The verb *fulwian* appears only once in poetry, in Christ's missionary command to his disciples, *fulwiað folc under roderum*, Cr. 484. The form *gefulwian* we also have once, *þa wæs gefulwad* (Judas), El. 1043.

141. More often the noun *fullwiht*, mfn., is used, sometimes in the phrase *fullwihtes bæð*, as, *onfon fromlice fullwihtes bæð* (Mermedonians), And. 1640, *þonne broðor þin / onfeng . . fulwihtes bæð* (Stephen, called Cyriacus' brother), El. 490, *Judas onfeng / . . fulwihtes bæð*, 1033. In Sat. 546 the phrase is used figuratively, *he (hælend) his swat forlet / feallon to foldan, fulwihtes bæð*, referring to the water that issued from the Savior's side when the soldier thrust in his spear. The simple term occurs And. 1635 and 1643. *Fulwihte onfon* we have Soul 87, and of Constantine it is said *se leodfruma / fulwihte onfeng*, El. 192. The Christians at Rome are

⁶ But note, *anne gesette / . . . / . . . bisceop þam leodum / and gehalgode . . . (Platan)*, And. 1647-50, *þæt he gesette on sacerðhad / in Jerusalem Judas þam folce / to bisceope (ordinavit Judam Episcopum in Ierosolyma)*, El. 1054-6. On the sacraments for OHG. see Raumer, p. 312 ff., for ON. Kahle, I, 364 ff., II, 121 f.

⁷ See NED. under *fullought*.

⁸ MacG., p. 21, note 2.

characterized as those *þa þurh fulwihite / lærde wæron*, El. 172, while Maxims 9 it is said *an is fulwihl*. The high regard for baptism and the gifts bestowed through it are mentioned in *onfengon* (Mermedonian youths) *fulwihite and freoðuwære, / wuldres wedde witum aspedde, / mundbyrd meotudes*, And. 1630-32. The cleansing power of baptism is sometimes referred to, as in the passage (*water*) *crismað and clænsað cwicra manigo*, Sal. 395, also, *Judas onfeng / . . . fulwihites bæð / and geclænsod wearð*, El. 1032-4.

142. Peculiar is John the Baptist's reference to his and Christ's activities on the Jordan, *wit unc in þære burnan bapodan ætgædere*, Har. 132, lines 133-7 telling more about it, *oferwurpe þu mid þy wætre, weoruda dryhten, / blipe mode ealle burgwaran, / swylce git Johannis in Jordane / mid þy fullwihite fægre onbryrdon / ealne þisne middangeard*. To Christ's baptism is also referred, (John) *se þe fægere iu / mid wætere oferwearp wuldres cynebearn*, Men. 159. The compound *fulwihitiid* as referring to Christ's baptism we find in Men. 11, already discussed in chapter V.

143. The compound *fulwihþēaw*, rite of baptism, occurs once, *cyning sylfa* (Theoderic) *onfeng / fulluhþeawum* Met. I, 33. There is uncertainty about the word *fullwōn*, f., the gen. pl. of which is encountered Gen. 1951, *forþon his lof secgað / . . . / fullwona bearn* (namely Christians). The word is not found elsewhere, and it is likely that the MS. reading is corrupt.⁹

144. The sacrament of the altar or the Lord's Supper is expressed by *hūsl*, *hūsel*, n., Goth. *hunsł* (Gr. *θυσία*), ON. *hunsł*, *húsl*. It is a remarkable fact, as has been pointed out by Kahle,¹⁰ that this spiritual sacrifice as conceived by the Church, an idea wholly foreign to the heathen mind, should be expressed by an old Germanic stem, which furthermore we find never applied to the sacrifices of the heathen. As in the other dialects, the OE. term originally meant offering or sacrifice, which meaning is still kept in a compound, as *hūslfatu halegu*, Dan. 705 and 749, reference being made to the sacrificial vessels of Solomon's temple.

145. The word *hūsl* is very rare in the poetry, only three examples being met with. We have, *hustl (sceal) halgum men, hapum synne*, Gn. Ex. 132, *Ahof þa his honda hustle gereorded / eaðmod þy æpelan gyfle*, Gu. 1274, and *ac him bið lenge husel*, Cr. 1685, the last passage referring to the blessed in Heaven. However, twice we have a reference to the Lord's Supper in *Soul*, though the term *hūsl* is not used, *and ic ofþyrsted wæs / godes lichoman, gastes drynces*, 41, and similarly, *Fastest ðu on foldan and gefyldest me / godes lichoman, gastes drynces*, 145-6.

⁹ Bibl. II, p. 405.

¹⁰ I, pp. 366-7. See also Grimm, *D.M.*, I, p. 32.

146. Three compounds are met with in the poetry, *hūslfæt*, already mentioned, *hālig hūselbearn*, applied to Guthlac 531, and *hūselweas*, / *cempan gecorene*, Gu. 768, a name for the faithful that enter the kingdom of God above. The last two words are poetical, each occurring only once in OE. literature.

147. Riddle 49 has as its subject the *hring*, 1, *readan goldes*, 6, and it would appear that the solution is nothing else than the paten or communion plate. In Riddle 60 the *hring gylденne*, 1, which speaks of the Savior's wounds, *swa þæs beages benne cwædon*, 12, is probably the chalice or communion cup.¹¹

III. THE SCRIPTURES

148. In the New Testament the books of the Old Covenant are designated as ἡ γραφή or αἱ γραφαί, i.e., the writings κατ' ἐξοχήν. A similar use of the term as applied to the Holy Scriptures, the Latin *scriptura*, is found in OE. poetry,¹² where the sacred writings are called *gewritu* or *fyrngewritu*, n. So we read, *Us gewritu secgað* (about Adam's age), Gen. 1121, similar statements occurring 2563, 2611, etc. Furthermore, *swa gewritu secgaþ* (about Calvary), El. 674, it being said regarding Stephen, *sint in bocum his / wundor, þa he worhte, on gewritum cyðed*, 826, though here apocryphal books might be included. We note also, *on gewritum findað*, Ex. 519, while it is asserted regarding the Pater Noster, *he gewritu læreð*, Sal. 50. *Fyrngewritu* is also applied a number of times, as, *þy læs toworpen sien / frod fyrngewritu and þa fæderlican / lare forleten*, El. 430, where it refers to the Old Testament, and similarly, *ymb fyrngewritu*, 373, where the author has the prophets in view. In *Is nu fela folca, þætte fyrngewritu / healdan wille ac . . .*, Instructions 67, the Holy Scriptures seem to be in the mind of the speaker, as also in line 73. It is peculiar that 'holy' never modifies the terms.

149. Sometimes *bēc*, f., the Latin *biblia*, serves to point out the Bible. Qualifying words may be added in order to make the idea intended perfectly clear, should the context fail to do so. Thus we have, *godcunde bec*, Gen. 2612, *on godes bocum*, El. 204, 290, *þurh halige bec*, 364, 670, 852, etc., though this term is not limited in its application to the Holy Scriptures. Sometimes *bēc* alone suffices, especially where the context admits of no other interpretation. Thus we have, *in bocum*, Cr. 453, *Us secgað bec* (about Christ's birth), 785, and *þæt me hælend min / on bocum bebed*, 793. Other examples could be cited. *Wisbōc* is found once, *on þinum wisbocum* Ps. CXXXVIII, 14, rendering *in libro tuo*.

¹¹ Compare Tupper, *The Riddles of the Exeter Book*, p. 179 f., 197 f.

¹² For OHG. see Raumer, p. 319 ff., ON. Kahle, I, p. 368 ff.

150. A term frequently used to designate God's word is *ǣ*, f., OS. *ēo*, OFris. *ewa* and its variant forms, OHG. *ēwa*, etc. However, the context must point to this interpretation or a modifier be employed. In a general sense we have it in *Sum mæg godcunde / reccan rihte ǣ*, Cr. 670-71, and similarly, *þær hie dryhtnes ǣ deman sceoldon*, Ap. 10; *þe his ǣ healden*, Gu. 26, *drihtnes ǣ*, Jul. 13. Clear references to the Old Testament occur, *þurh rihte ǣ reccan cuðon*, El. 281, as also, *we Hebreisce ǣ leornedon*, 397. In *ǣ cuðon*, / *witgena word*, El. 393-4, specific parts of the Old Testament are referred to, as also in *þa ðe Moyses ǣ / reccan cuðon*, 283. *Ǽ* denoting the Mosaic Law occurs frequently in the *Psalms*, as, *mine fæste ǣ (legem meam)*, LXXVII, 1, *ic ǣ þine elne heolde (custodivi legem tuam)*, CXVIII, 55, *Brohte him blelsunge se ðe him beorhte ǣ soðe sette (etenim benedictionem dabit legislator)*, LXXXIII, 7, *Israhelum ǣ gesette (legem posuit in Israel)*, LXXVII, 6. The Ten Commandments or the Ten Words of the Law are mentioned, *rihte ǣ / getacnode on tyn wordum*, And. 1511-12. If *ǣ* denotes the New Testament or Christ's teachings, the fact is shown either by the context or by a modifier, such as *ǣ halendes*, El. 1062, or *Cristes ǣ*, Jul. 411, Cr. 1688. For further examples of *ǣ* denoting the Scriptures compare *Sprachschatz*.

151. A few compounds of *ǣ* may be listed here, some of which, however, will be discussed more fully later. *Ǽbebod*, Ps. CIV, 40 (*legem*), also CXVIII, 102 and 126. *Ǽboda*, poetic and found only once, Gu. 909, referring to the saint. *Ǽcraft*, poetic. In the sense of religion we have it El. 435, and as denoting knowledge or skill in the Law, Dan. 19. *Ǽcraftig*, once in the poetry; said of Daniel, Dan. 742. *Ǽfast*, those keeping the Law, the pious; not infrequent. *Ǽfremmende*, the pious, religious; poetic and found only once, Jul. 648. *Ǽfyllende*, pious, religious; poetic and found only once, Cr. 704. *Ǽglæaw*, in the religious sense, learned in the Law. Said of Cyriacus El. 805, as applied to Jews summoned by Elene, *eorlas æcleawe*, El. 321. In a more general sense, as knowing about the Bible, the apostles, and the miracles they performed we find *æglæawe menn*, Ap. 24, and the comparative *æglæwra / mann*, And. 1483-4. *Ǽlærend*, poetic and found only once. After his conversion Paul is said to be the best *ælærendra*, El. 506. *Ǽriht*, code of Law or faith; poetic and occurring only twice. Designating the Jewish Law we have, *þa þe fyrngewritu / þurh snyttro craft selest cunnen*, / *æriht eower*, El. 375, and (Judas or Cyriacus may reveal) *æriht from ord oð ende forð*, 590. *Ǽwita*, wise in the Law, counsellor; poetic and found only once, being applied to Cyriacus' grandfather, *ealdum æwitan*, El. 455.

152. No discussion of the prophets is necessary here, as that subject has been treated in chapter II, under III.

153. In the metrical version of the *Psalms*, which is generally speaking a faithful rendering of the Latin Vulgate, with the exception of occasional elaborations and personal touches, a considerable number of terms not met with in the other poetry are naturally found. Among them we have *gewitnes*, used in a general sense in rendering the Latin *testimonium*, as, *þin gewitnys (testimonia tua)*, CXVIII, 24, similarly, *þine gewitnysse (mandata tua)*, 45, etc. But sometimes we have the term in the sense of *testimonium*, the covenant entered into, the Law. Thus, *Ne heoldan hi halgan drihtnes gewitnesse (testamentum Dei)*, LXXVII, 12, as also, *his gewitnesse (memor erit . . . testamenti sui)*, CX, 4.

154. The OE. rendering of the Latin *psalmus* is *sealm*, m., the learned *psalm* not being found in the poetry. We have, *þæt ic gode swylce sealmas singe (psalmum dicam)*, LVI, 9, similarly 11; *mid sealnum (psalmum dicite)*, LXV, 1, *Singað soðum gode sealmas (psalmum dicite)*, LXVII, 4, *sealmas singan (psallam)*, CVII, 3, similarly CXLV, 1; *singað him sealmas (bonus est psalmus)*, CXLVI, 1, *sealmas (in psalmis jubilemus ei)*, XCIV, 2.

155. Of compounds with *sealm* the poetic *sealmsfæt* occurs once only, *þe on sealmsfatum singe be hearpan*, LXX, 20, rendering the Latin *in vasis psalmi*. The Latin *psalterium* is directly taken over, occurring four times in the form *on psalterio*, XCI, 3, CVII, 2, CXLIII, 10, and CXLIX, 3. Once we find *wynpsalterium*, LVI, 10, where the Latin has only *psalterium*.

156. The verb *salletan*, the Latin *psallere*, occurs only once in the *Psalms*, *Singað him swylce and salletað (cantate ei, et psallite ei)*, CIV, 2.

157. Twice *ymen*, m., the Latin *hymnus*, is found. *Nu mine weleras ðe wordum belcettað ymnas elne (eructabunt labia mea hymnum)*, Ps. CXVIII, 171, and *Singað us ymnum (hymnum cantate)*, CXXXVI, 4.

158. Of the books of the New Testament the gospels demand attention. In OE. the term for the story of Christ is *godspell*, *godspel*, n. It is assumed that the original form of the word was *gōdspel*, the good or glad tidings, a rendering of the Latin *bona adnuntiatio* or *bonus nuntius*, which was in current use as an explanation of the etymological sense of *evangelium*, Gr. εὐαγγέλιον. In the compound word the regular phonetic law would shorten *gōd*, but it seems that already at an early time the first part of the compound was confused with *god*, God, and the word came to be used in the sense of divine story or message. From OE. the term passed into other Germanic languages, appearing in OS. as *godspell*, OHG. *gotspell*, ON. *guð-* or *goð-spiall*, in each case the first element being identified with God.¹³

¹³ Article *gospel* in *NED*. The etymology given here seems to be generally accepted now. For a different view see Bright, *Mod. L. Notes*, IV, 208-10, V, 90-91, who still maintains that standpoint. Compare reply of Logeman, VIII, 89-93.

159. In OE. poetry *godspel* is encountered only five times. It is not impossible that in Sal. A, 65, *ðurh gastes gife godspel secgan*, the word has kept its original meaning of good tidings, if we assume that this interpretation suggested by the context is further strengthened by the fact that MS. B has the reading *godspellian*. In the other cases we have clearly an indication of the Gospel, as, *ðæt hie for þam casere cyðan moston / godspelles gife*, El. 176, the story of Christ following almost immediately as an explanation of the term. The same interpretation is demanded in *purh gastes giese godspel bodian*, Gu. 1088. Matthew seems to be especially prominent in connection with the Gospel, he being referred to as *þegn unforcuð / godspelles gleaw*, Men. 171. In And. 11-13 his work in reducing the story of Christ to writing is definitely pointed out, *Wæs hira Matheus sum, / se mid Judeum ongan godspell ærest / wordum writan wundorcræfte*.

160. The verb *godspellian*, *godspellan* occurs a few times. As already pointed out, we have *godspellian* Sal. B, 65. In *swa he (Daniel) ofstlice godspellode / metodes mihtum for mancynne*, Dan. 658, the word seems to be used in the sense of preaching. In the meaning of making known the glad tidings, though not in the New Testament sense, it is employed Ps. LXVII, 12, *God gifeð gleaw word godspellendum (Dominus dabit verbum evangelizantibus)*.

161. Of other terms denoting God's Word or pointing out specific commandments may be mentioned *bod*, *bebod*, and *gebod*, n., which are used in different senses, in each case the context or modifiers supplying the specific meaning. *Bod* appears for instance L. Prayer III, 109. *Ac min bibod bræce*, Cr. 1393, refers to Adam and Eve in Paradise, *ðæs hehstan gebod*, Dox. 29, mentions the supposed commandment regarding the observance of Sunday. *Hælendes bebod* is mentioned And. 735, while in other passages we have the commandment of the king or the heavenly king, God. The compound *bodscipe* occurs Gen. 783, and *gebodscipe* 430. A few examples from the *Psalms* may follow, *godes bebodu georne heoldan (testamentum Dei)*, LXXVII, 9, *bebodu (legem)*, LXXXVIII, 27, *bebodu (mandata)*, 28, and *halige bebodu (mandata tua)*, CXVIII, 63, etc., *gebod (mandata)*, 87.

162. *Wær*, f., covenant, is used a number of times, as, *þenden / þæt folc mid him hiera fæder wære / healdan woldon*, Dan. 10, *wille (God) him soðe to / modes wære mine gelatan*, Gen. 2366, *wære gemyndig, / . . . ða him god sealde*, 2372.

163. Such terms as *lār*, *godes word*, *dōm*, etc., etc., used either singly or with modifiers, may also denote the whole or parts of the Scriptures, but they do not call for any detailed treatment here.

CHAPTER VII

THE DEITY

164. The Germanic tribes believed in polytheism, in a plurality of gods, whose identity and number seem to be shifting, and who were governed by the inexorable Wyrð.¹ The idea of one supreme and all-powerful God in the Christian sense of the term was entirely foreign to them, and naturally some time elapsed before they were able to bring their former views into harmony with the Christian doctrine. For a long time their notions regarding certain phases were bound to be vague, and we find for instance in OE. poems assertions regarding the persons of the Trinity not consonant with the official theological views accepted and decreed by the councils, but not at all surprising when viewed in the light of prevailing circumstances.

I. WYRD

165. Since the term *wyrð* is sometimes closely connected with God, a brief discussion of it as far as it pertains to our subject would seem to be in order at this point.² OE. *wyrð* by regular changes from Germanic **wurðiz* goes back to the common Germ. stem **werthan*, the noun occurring as *wurð* in OS., *wurt* in OHG., and *urðr* in ON.³ The original meaning of OE. *wyrð* (fact, happening; Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 111, "that which is accomplished") is common in poetry as well as in prose, occurring for instance in such passages as *þa seo wyrð gewearð, þæt þæt wif geseah / for Abrahame Ismael plegan*, Gen. 2777, *wæs þæt mære wyrð / (Christ's birth) folcum gefræge*, Men. 53, *he ne leag fela / wyrða ne worda*, Beow. 3030.

166. However, more often *wyrð* has a meaning analogous to the Latin *fatum*, fate or destiny, at times practically personified. At least one passage,⁴ *Me þæt wyrð gewæf*, Rim. 70, seems to indicate the mythological conception of *wyrð* as weaving man's destiny, while in ON. the idea of

¹ See Grimm, *D.M.*, I, p. 81 ff., Golther, *Handbuch*, p. 192 ff., 502 ff.

² Compare Grimm, *D.M.*, I, p. 335 ff., Golther, *Handbuch*, 104 f., Gummere, *Germanic Origins*, p. 236, 371 f., Klaeber, *Anglia*, XXXVI, p. 171 f., 174 f.

³ Skeat, *Etymological Dictionary*, under *weird*.

⁴ In Rid. 36, 9-10, we read, *Wyrmas mec ne awæfan wyrða cræftum, / þa þe geolo godwebb geatwum fratwað*, which is claimed to 'take us into the heart of ancient heathendom' (Brooke, p. 126). But with Tupper, *Riddles of the Exeter Book*, p. 152, note, we agree that *wyrða cræftum* has lost its old force and means nothing more than 'durch Schicksalsschläge,' as Grein's *Dichtungen* renders it, the lines being a fairly accurate translation of Aldhelm's Latin. *Seo þrag cymeð / wefen wyrdstafum*, Gu. 1325, also seems to have a weakened force.

Norns, corresponding to the Greek *μοῖραι* and the Latin *parcae*, distinctly appears in *Völuspá*,⁵

18 (B. 19) Ask ueit ek standa, / heitir Yggdrasill / . . .

19 (B. 20) Þaðan koma meýiar / margs uitandi /
þriár ór þeim sal, / er und þolli stendr. /
Urþ héto eina, / aþra Uerþandi,—/
skáro á skípi,—/ Skuld ena þriþio. /

20 Þær lög lögþo, / þær líf kuro /
alda bǫrnóm, / þrlög seggia.

Even though *Urðr* in ON. literature is the predominating figure, from the passage quoted it is readily seen that *Urðr*, *Uerþandi*, and *Skuld* as Past, Present, and Future have a function analogous to that of the *μοῖραι* and *parcae* in Homer and Isidor,⁶ even if the question of classical influence is waived.

167. Often, though not always, *wyrd* is the blindly hostile and inexorable power sweeping away man's joys and pleasures, intolerant even of his dreary existence. The poet of the *Ruined Burg* contemplates in a melancholy mood the hall joys *oþ þæt þæt onwende wyrd seo swiþe*, line 25. Other pictures are no less gloomy, *Earm biþ se sceal ana lifgan, / wineleas wunian hafþ him wyrd geteod*, Gn. Ex. 174, and *hio Wyrd forswēop / on Grendles gryre*, Beow. 477. In this poem *wyrd* is generally looked upon as the goddess of death, an idea which also appears in the OS. *Heliand*, *Thiu wurd is at hendum*, 4621, when compared with line 2990, *nu is iru doð at hendi*,⁷ etc. The same notion is not foreign to other OE. poems, a lingering trace of such function being found for instance Gu. 1030, where at the death of the saint it is remarked, *Wyrd ne meahste / in fægum leng feorg gehealdan, / deore frætwe, þonne him gedemed wæs*, while *wyrd seo mære*, Wand. 100, has taken away the earls.

168. With the advent of Christianity the notion of *wyrd* as the hostile force receives a further development. So in *heo wop weceð, heo wean hladeð, / heo gast scyð, heo ger byreð*, Sal. 436 ff., and especially, *Ac hwæt witeð us wyrd seo swiðe, / eallra fyrena fruma, fæhðo modor, / weana wirtwela, wopes heafod, / frumscylda gehwæs fæder and modor, / deaðes dohter?* 442 ff. Met. IV, 34-40 the hostile force even helps in persecuting the saints.

⁵ *Sæmundar Edda*, Detter & Heinzel, Leipzig, 1903.

⁶ Grimm, *D.M.*, I, p. 335 ff.

⁷ *Heliand*, M. Heyne, 4th edition, Paderborn, 1905. See Grimm, *D.M.*, I, p. 336, regarding the discussion of *wyrd*. Vilmar, *Deutsche Altertümer*, 2nd edition, p. 13, may also be compared.

In the passage *hie seo Wyrð beswac, / forleolc and forlærde*, And. 613-14, especially when compared with *hie for æfstum inwit syredon / þurh deopne gedwolan deofles larum*, 610-11, *wyrð* assumes functions of the devil in instigating the condemnation of Christ. And in the passages quoted from *Salomon and Saturn* there is hardly any doubt that *wyrð* is identified with the fallen angel, who is the bringer of evil and misery.⁸ This idea was not foreign to the Anglo-Saxon mind, and the homilists exerted all their influence to combat such a belief.*

169. Excepting such negative statements as *ne mæg werig mod wyrðe wiðstondan*, Wand. 15, and the variously interpreted passage *Beow. 1056-7*, man seems to be helpless against the decrees of blind fate. *Gæð a wyrð swa hio scell* *Beow. 455*, *wyrð bið ful arædl* Wand. 5, *mon him sylf ne mæg / wyrð onwendan*, Prayer IV, 117, *þæt ic gewægan ne mæg wyrð under heofonum*, Judg. 115, testify to the prevalent belief of *wyrð* as the inexorable.

170. Entirely different is God's position in regard to the once all-ruling power, though even here occur peculiar statements. The belief in fatalism had a strong hold on the Germanic character and even after the conversion to Christianity exerted an influence by no means negligible. During heathen times *Wyrð* had occupied a unique position inasmuch as it operated outside the sphere of the gods, and, in ultimately controlling all destiny, even stood above them. With the conversion to Christianity the good God of Christianity might easily supplant the *regnator omnium deus* (Tacitus, *Germania*, ch. 49) who had until then been the provider and distributor of bountiful gifts.¹⁰ Not so easy was the subordination of a hostile and uncontrollable force under the omnipotence of the Christian God, and this transitional stage may perhaps account for an occasional compromising statement. We read, *þrymmas syndan Cristes myccle, / wyrð bið swiðost*, Gn. Cot. 4-5, and *Wyrð bið swiðre, / meotud mehtigra þonne æges monnes gehygd*, Seaf. 115-16. It is not at all improbable that in the last example, as also in *ac unc sceal weorðan æt wealle, swa unc wyrð geteoð, / metod manna gehwæs*, *Beow. 2526-7*,¹¹ the term *metod* must be taken as synonymous with *wyrð*, an interpretation which seems to be suggested by connotations which this word in its simple form as well as in

* Abbetmeyer, *Poetical Motives*, p. 6, puts it, "Sal. 442 ff. is clearly a Christian passage, in which Wyrð is discredited by being identified with Satan."

⁸ Bouterweck, *Cædmon's des Angelsachsen Biblische Dichtungen*, p. LXIV; also LXIX f., "Darum eifern die angelsächsischen Kirchenväter gegen den Aberglauben einer Wyrð, eines Geschickes, dass etwas Anderes sei als der allmächtige Gott."

¹⁰ Ehrismann, *Zum Germanischen Frühchristentum*, p. 237-8.

¹¹ In the *Beowulf* of Heyne-Schuecking, Paderborn, 1913, *metod* in this line is glossed as *fatum* in the vocabulary.

combinations may originally have had.¹² Without ascribing any undue importance to the at least notable statement *God us ece biþ: / ne wendað hine wyrda*, Gn. Ex. 9, God controls *wyrd*, he is *wyrda wealdend*, Ex. 432, El. 80, And. 1056, Prayer IV, 43, though one might argue that *wyrda* has here the weakened force of events.¹³ But such statements as the following leave little doubt as to God's superior power, *nefne him witig god wyrd forstode*,¹⁴ Beow. 1056, especially *Hwi ðu ece god æfre wolde, / þæt sio Wyrd in gewill wendan sceolde*, Met. IV, 35, and *Gif ðu nu, waldend, ne wilt Wyrd steoran, / ac on selfwille sigan lætest*, 49.

171. A further development may perhaps be assumed in passages where *wyrd* takes on a meaning almost identical with God, such as, *oðþæt Wyrd gescraf, / þæt þe ðeodrice þegnas and eorlas / heran sceoldon*, Met. I, 29, when held together with *ðenden god wolde, þæt he Gotena geweald / agan moste*, 38-9, while regarding the conversion of Judas, the discoverer of the cross, we hear, *huru Wyrd gescraef, / þæt he swa geleafful and swa leof gode / in worldrice weorðan sceolde, / Criste gecweme*, El. 1046. One is tempted to identify the word with foreordination or predestination.¹⁵ Such an interpretation is placed upon *wyrd* by OE. homilists.¹⁶ In glosses *forewyrd* has the sense of predestination.

II. THE TERM GOD

172. The OE. term for God is *god*, masculine in the singular, but with masculine and neuter forms in the plural. Other Germanic dialects use a word from the same stem, OFris. and OS. *god*, m., OHG. *got*, m., ON. *goð*, *guð*, the singular in ON. being both masculine and neuter, while the plural is neuter. The Gothic singular *gub*, a neuter form, is used as a masculine, while in the plural the neuter *guda* appears. The Goth. and ON. words are declined as neuters, but the masculine concord is established, probably due to Christian influence. The OTeut. type would be therefore **guðo^m*, n., which seems to go back, though the ulterior etymology is disputed, to

¹² Compare the discussion of *metod*, 184, note 1.

¹³ See Kent, *Teutonic Antiquities*, p. 3, also Rankin, *Kennings*, VIII, p. 414, note 37.

¹⁴ Sedgefield (*Beowulf*, Manchester, 1910, p. 163), agreeing with Ettmueller, would take *wyrd* as nom. sing. in opposition with *god*. He objects to the usual construction of *wyrd* as object of *forstode* on the ground that man's destiny could not be hindered. But his rendering of *forstode* as help, defend, is not happy from the grammatical standpoint, since then we should expect *hie*, not *him*, as object, while his objection to the common interpretation on theological grounds loses its force because it is not based on all the evidence available, as will be seen from the examples we have quoted. Compare note to line 1056, p. 54 of *Beowulf*, Wyatt and Chambers, Cambridge, 1914.

¹⁵ See also Kent, *Teutonic Antiquities*, p. 3.

¹⁶ Compare Bouterweck, *Cadmon's des Angelsachsen Biblische Dichtungen*, p. LXX ff.

Indo-European **ghutóm*, the neuter of a past participle, meaning either what is invoked or what is worshipped by sacrifice.¹⁷

173. The original meaning of *god* in Teutonic was therefore probably rather *numen* than *deus*. In OE. it is used practically exclusively in the latter sense, with the modification, of course, that *god* may render also *dominus*, etc. As in OE. poetry *god* as a designation of the Christian Deity is very frequent and as numerous examples will appear in the subsequent discussion, illustrations of this use are superfluous here. The singular is also applied to heathen gods, e.g., *gif þu to sǣmran gode / þurh deofolgield dæde biþencest*, Jul. 52. *Wōðgod*, false god, we have in *him wōðgodu worhtan* (*sculptilibus*), Ps. LXXVII, 58. The masculine plural, confined to the Christian God, is naturally seldom used; a good illustration is found in *Creed*, where, having enumerated the persons of the Godhead, the poet continues, 44, *ne synd þæt preo godas þriwa genemned, / ac is an god, se ðe ealle hafað / þa þry naman þinga gerynum*. The neuter plural *godu* is much more common. The Christian Deity as conceived by heathen is referred to, *and þu fremdu godu forð bigongest*, Jul. 121. As applied to heathen gods we note, *Ic* (Juliana's father) *þæt geswerge þurh soð godu*, Jul. 80, *þa ðu goda ussa gilp gehnægdest*, And. 1319, *him wæs wuldres dream, / lifwela leofra þonne þæs leasan godu*, Ap. 49. A few examples from the *Psalms* may follow, *Sindon ealle hæpenu godu hildedeoful* (*omnes dii gentium daemonia*), XCV, 5, *Nis þe goda ænig on gumrice ahwær efre gelic* (*non est similis tui in diis Domine*), LXXXV, 7. Said of men we have, *Ge synd uppe godu ealle uphea and æðele bæarn* (*Dii estis, et filii excelsi omnes*), LXXXI, 6. In the last example we notice that the neuter plural is also applied to men, even though they are looked upon as the representatives of God.

174. A feminine *gyden*, goddess, also appears, but in the poetry it is met with only once, Met. XXVI, 53, where it serves as a designation of Circe.

175. *Ōs*, m., the ON. *oss*, is found once in the poetry, *gif hit wære esa gescot*, Charm II, 23.

III. THE TRINITY

176. Though there is confusion regarding the persons of the Trinity, and the line is not always as sharply drawn as the trinitarian dogma of the Church would demand, the Anglo-Saxon poets hold the orthodox Athanasian view of the mystery. The Latin *trinitas* (Gr. *τριάς*) is

¹⁷ See *NED*. For literature on the subject consult Falk-Torp, *Norw.-Dän. Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, under *Gud*.

expressed in OE. by *þrīnes*, *þrynēs*, OHG. having *thrinissi*, ON. *þrenneng*.¹⁸ The term is comparatively rare in the poetry, occurring only eight times, though we have not seldom a juxtaposition of the three persons of the Godhead, even when the formal expression of the Trinity is lacking. So for instance Charm VIII, 10-12, *ac gehæle me ælmihtig and sunu and frosfre-gæst, / ealles wuldres wyrðig dryhten, / swa swa ic gehyrde heofna scyppende.*

177. As examples of *þrīnes* we note, *Ealal seo wlitige weorðmynda full / heah and halig heofoncund þrynes, / brade geblissad geond bryten-wongas*, Cr. 379, which all should praise, *nu us hælend god / wærfæst onwrah, þæt we hine witan motan!* 383-4, as also, *Wuldor þæs age / þrynyssse þrym, þonc butan endel* 599. The belief in the Trinity is voiced by Guthlac, *forðon ic getrywe in þone torhtestan / þrynesse þrym, se geþeahtingum / hafað in hondum heafon and eorðan*, 617-19. Several times Christ is mentioned in connection with the Trinity in such a manner as almost to incline the reader to the belief that Christ embraces the three persons of the Godhead. A slight tendency toward it may perhaps be detected El. 177, *hu se gasta helm / in þrynesse þrymme geweorðad / acenned wearð*. More pronounced is the passage in *Hymn*, for having spoken of Christ in lines 37-9 as *ðu eart ana æce dryhten / and ðu ana bist eallra dema, / . . . Crist nergend*, the author continues, 40, *forðan ðu on ðrymme ricast and on ðrinesse / and on annesse ealles waldend, / hiofena heahcyninc, haliges gastes / segere gefelled in fæder wuldre*. This would not be so very surprising in view of the fact, as will appear later, that Christ is sometimes identified with both the Father and the Holy Spirit, and that it is said of him *ðu eart sunu and fæder / ana ægber*, L. Prayer III, 42-3. On the other hand, there is a change in the traditional order of the Trinity Jud. 83-4, *Ic ðe, frymða god and frosfre gæst, / bearn alwaldan, biddan wille (ðrynesse ðrym, 86)*. The same order is followed in Jul. 724-7, *fæder frosfre gæst, / . . . / and se deora sunu, / þonne seo þrynis þrymsittende / in annesse (scrifeð)*. The traditional order is, however, observed in And. 1684-5, *þær (in Heaven) fæder and sunu and frosfre gæst / in þrinnesse þrymme wealdeð*.

178. The unity in the Trinity was not lost sight of, as a number of passages tend to show. In the last quotation of 176, Charm VIII, 10-12, the unity may be indicated by the singular number of the appellations evidently bestowed upon all the three persons. In And. 1685 we have the singular *wealdeð*, although the subject is composed of three persons. Formally the unity is expressed by *annes* (L. *unitas*, Gr. *μονότης*), OHG. *einnissi*, ON. *eineng*. The OE. term is only twice found in the poetry, (Christ reigns not only *on ðrinesse*, 40, but also) *on annesse*, *Hymn* 41, and *þonne seo þrynis þrymsittende / in annesse (scrifeð)*, Jul. 727. The

¹⁸ For OHG. compare Raumer, p. 347 ff., ON. Kahle, I, pp. 380-81.

three persons are contained in the *meotud* (721), the *heofona helm* (722), and the *meahta waldend* (723) implored by Cynewulf. The resolute maiden Judith *ongan ða swegles weard / be naman nemnan, nergend ealra / woruld-buendra*, Jud. 80-82, followed by the invocation to Father, Spirit, and Son. The author of the *Creed* enters into a discussion of the problem of unity and trinity in the passage quoted before in another connection. Having referred to the Spirit, the Father, and the Son, he continues, in order to prevent an interpretation that might be made, *ne synd þæt þreo godas þriwa genemned, / ac is an god, se ðe ealle hafað / þa þry naman þinga gerynum*, 44-6. All of which goes to show that the poet tried to keep within the dogma as drawn up by the councils of the Church, though attempting a rational explanation of the mystery.

IV. THE GODHEAD AND GOD THE FATHER

179. Under this caption we shall treat certain names which are applied to the Godhead, and the Father, or the first person of the Trinity, though one cannot always be sure as to who is meant, in a considerable number of cases it being impossible to distinguish clearly the three persons of the Godhead. No attempt has been made to make the list of the extremely large number¹⁹ of names and kennings complete, as the works of Bode and Rankin,²⁰ to which we refer the reader, are sufficiently comprehensive, though they hardly make any distinction between the three persons. We merely give from our full collections the more important of the designations. But enough material will appear to illustrate by specific cases the wealth and variety of names at the disposal of the OE. poets. Though having originally a specific and definite connotation, there can be little doubt that very often the names were not pregnant with meaning to the author, who not seldom was guided in his choice of an appellation by the exigencies of alliteration, and similar considerations.²¹

180. The term *god* appears extremely often as a designation of the Godhead, and of the first person. The wealth and variety will sufficiently appear from the examples given. *An god is ealra gesceafta, / frea monocynnes, fæder and scippend*, Met. XVII, 8-9, *frymða god*, El. 502, Jud. 83, similarly El. 345, Gu. 792; *weoruda god*, Gu. 366, similarly El. 1149, Cr. 347, etc.; *weorodanes god*, Fates 93, *mægena god*, El. 809, *mæga gode*, Jul.

¹⁹ Bode, *Kenningar*, p. 72, remarks: "Sie (namely the Anglo-Saxons) umschreiben den himmlischen Vater mit mehr denn 300 Ausdrücken; namentlich wenn sie sich in Gebet zum Himmel wandten, redeten sie den Geber aller Gaben mit immer neuen Wendungen an, wie ein Bettler, der einen Reichen schmeichelt."

²⁰ Bode, *Kenningar*, p. 79 ff. No attempt has been made to distinguish between the three persons. Rankin, *A Study of the Kennings in Anglo-Saxon Poetry*, *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, VIII, p. 374 ff. He also gives Latin equivalents.

²¹ For further remarks see Introduction, p. 13 ff.

659, *mihta god*, El. 785, *sigora god*, 1307, *heofonrices god*, 1124, *wuldres god*, Gu. 1054, *engla god*, Ex. 380, etc., *waldend god*, Gen. 520, *ic wealdend god wordum herige* (*Deo laudabo*), Ps. LV, 4, *alwaldend god*, Message 31, *drihten god*, Beow. 181, *dryhten god*, Jud. 300, etc., etc., *on god drihten gearewe gewene* (*in Deo speravi*), LV, 4, *nergende god*, Met. XXIX, 74, Gen. 1924, *hælend god*, Sat. 281, *min hælend god*, (*Deus meus*), Ps. CXVII, 26, *hælend god* (*Deus saluos faciendi*), LXVII, 20, *hælend god* (*Deus salutaris noster*), LXIV, 6. *Heonan ic cleopige to heahgode and to waldendgode* (*clamabo ad Deum altissimum! Deum*), Ps. LVI, 2, *se is waldendgode wel liciendlic* (*beneplacitum est Deo*), LXVII, 16. It may be noted here that *godes agen bearn*, e. g., El. 179, is very frequently found, where of course the reference in *godes* is clearly to the first person.

181. *Fæder* is often used where God conceived as one or the first person is meant, though the term is also applied to Christ. The reference is clear in the formula mentioning the three persons of the Trinity, as, *fæder and sunu and frefre gast*, And. 1684, etc. In most of the other cases the context indicates to whom the term is applied. We note, *halig fæder*, Met. XX, 46, etc., *bilewit fæder*, XX, 69, 255, similarly And. 997, Dan. 363, Az. 139 Gen. 856, etc.; *beorht fæder*, And. 937, etc., *þæs breman fæder*, Doom 296, *fæder frefergendum*, Sat. 318, *an fæder ece*, Maxims 9, *fæder ælmihtig*, Prayer III, 51, a term very frequent; *nergende fæder*, Gn. Cot. 63, *waldend fæder*, Cr. 163, *fæder alwalda*, Beow. 316, *fæder engla*, Met. XX, 153, 263, 275, And. 1412, El. 783, Men. 226, etc., *fæder frumsceafta*, Moods 66, *fæder frymða gehwæs*, Ph. 197. *þinne wuldorfæder*, Cr. 217, *soðfæder*, 103, *lifaþ nu on heofenum mid heahfædere* (otherwise term for patriarch, see 25), Rood B, 134, *on ða swiðran hand / ðinum godfæder*, Hymn 31.

182. God is *scippend*, the creator. Though the term is not seldom also applied to Christ, it would seem that the Godhead or the first person is more often regarded as the creator. References to the work of creation are very frequent, the creation being *godes handgesceaft*, Gen. 455. Man was created according to the *ānlicnes*, the image of God, *Monn wæs to godes / anlicnesse ærest gesceapen*, Gen. 1528-9, *þær he hæfð mon geworhtne / æfter his onlicnesse*, 395-6. *Scippend* is very frequent, as, *An scippend is butan ælcum tweon, / se is eac waldend woruldgesceafta*, Met. XI, 1-2, *ðu eca and ðu ælmihtiga / ealra gesceafta scippend and reccend!* IV, 29-30, *scippend scirra tungla, / hefones and eorðan!* IV, 1-2, *heofona scyppend*, And. 192, *frymþa scyppend*, Ph. 630, *mihta scyppend*, Gu. 1131, *engla scyppend*, And. 119, *gasta scyppend*, Dan. 292, 315, El. 790, similarly Jul. 181; *alda scyppend*, Wand. 85, *weoruda scyppend*, Instructions 62. Here may also be added *eall geworhtest / ðing þearle good*, Met. XX, 44-5, *se wyrhta*, Gen. 125, *æpele se wyrhta*, Ph. 9, *wuldres wyrhta*, 130.

183. *Fruma*, creator, founder, is found a number of times. We note, *moncynnes fruma*, Met. XXIX, 42, Ph. 377, *upengla fruma*, And. 226, *sigores fruma*, Cr. 294, *mæða fruma*, Chr. III, B, 21, *lifes fruma*, El. 792, etc. Of compounds may be quoted *lifes leohtfruma*, And. 1413, Gen. 175, 926, 1410, etc., Met. XI, 72, *lifes ordfruma*, Cr. 227, *engla ordfruma*, And. 146, Sat. 239, etc. We find *Ðu eart eallra ðinga, þeoda waldend, / fruma and endel* Met. XX, 274-5.

184. *Metod*,²² a poetic term,²³ is extremely common in the poetry. We note only *meotud moncynnes*, And. 172, Ph. 176, etc., *metod engla*, Gen. 121, similarly Gu. 1105, etc. To these might be added a host of expressions showing *metod* governing different kinds of objects. We note also *eald metod*, Beow. 945, *milde metod*, Maldon 175, similarly Met. XXIX, 69.

185. God is *cyning*, a term extremely frequent. *Engla cyning*, Met. XIII, 12, *gæsta god cyning*, Prayer IV, 39, *nergende cyning*, 49, etc. etc. But similar terms and phrases we pass over in order to give a few of the more important compounds. *Wuldorcyning* is frequent, occurring Ph. 196, Whale 67, 85, similarly Beow. 2795; *weroda wuldorcyning*, Met. XX, 162, similarly Gen. 2; *heahcyning*, Ph. 129, etc., *heofona heahcyning*, Ph. 446, And. 6, etc., *heahcyning heofones*, Dan. 408, *sweglcýning*, Gen. 2658, similarly Gu. 1055; *þrymcýning*, Moods 62, *þeoda þrymcýning*, Met. XX, 205, *ðeoda þrymcýningc*, Invocation 2, *þeodcyning*, Soul 12, gen. sing. Rid. 68, 1 (only two occurrences in the religious sense),²⁴ *mægencýning*, El. 1247, *mægencýninges þrea*, Judg. 57, *mægencýninga hyhst*, 6, *sigora soðcyning*, Beow. 3055, Ph. 329, etc. Of characteristic modifiers we add, *on riht cyning*, Ph. 664, *blīðheort cyning*, Gen. 192, *stiðfrihþ cinig*, 107, *stiðferð cyning*, 241, *stiðmod cyning*, 2423.

²² The term has been treated by Grimm, *D.M.*, I, 18 f., III, 15. Vilmar, *Deutsche Altertümer im Heliand*, p. 11, remarks: "*Metod*, der messende, ordnende, welcher auch im angelsächsischen üblich geblieben ist, da er am wenigsten speciell heidnischen Inhalt zu haben scheint, vielmehr im ganzen nur für eine formelle bezeichnung des höchsten wesens gelten kann, sich also sehr wohl in die lehren der christlichen kirche fügte." Grein, *Sprachschatz*, claims that in heathen times the word had probably the meaning of fate. In support of this view he points to Wald. A. 19, *ðy ic ðe metod ondred*, and to *on meotudwange* (battle field), And. 11, as also to compounds in related languages. Rankin, VIII, 420, thinks, though the etymological significance may be creator, in the majority of cases 'it means deus.' Klaeber, *Anglia*, XXXV, 124, remarks: "Heidnischer character ist dem worte nicht anzumerken; doch ist an die interessante nebeneinanderstellung von *wyrð* und *Metod* zu erinnern, Beow. 2526 f., Seef. 115 f. (Beow. 979 *Meotod*: 2574 *wyrð*)."

²³ Excepting *se metoda drihten* twice in Ælfric's *Homilies*, and there in alliterative passages. B.-T.

²⁴ According to Rankin, VIII, 404, *þeod* may have become an intensifier, *þeodcyning* signifying "the mighty king."

186. *Dryhten*, originally leader of the host,²⁵ OS. *drohtin*, OHG. *truhtin*, ON. *dróttin*, generally rendering L. *dominus*,²⁶ is extremely common. As lord, ruler, chief, it is also frequently used in the secular sense. Thus Sarah calls Abraham *Drihten min* Gen. 2225. We note as occurrences in the religious sense, *hælend drihten* (*Dominus salvabit me*), Ps. LIV, 16, *hælend drihten* (*Deus salutaris noster*), LXXXIV, 4, *hælend drihten* (*Dominum*), CXLV, 1, CXLVIII, 1, *hælynd drihten*(-), CVII, 6, *god dryhten*, El. 759, *dryhtna dryhtne*, And. 1151, Whale 84, similarly Gen. 638; *sigedrihten*, Gen. 523, similarly Gu. 1212, Judg. 92; *sigedrihten god*, Met. XX, 260, *sigora dryhten*, El. 346, similarly 1139; *duguða dryhten*, El. 81, Ph. 494, *gumena drihten*, Gen. 515, *weoruda dryhten*,²⁷ Sermon Ps. 28, 8, 10, Soul 14, etc., etc., *gæsta dryhten*, Judg. 81, *weorulddrihtnes*, Met. XXIX, 1.

187. *Wealdend*, the wielder, the ruling one, is extremely frequent. We give a number of kennings in order to show the great variety. *Done selestan sigora waldend!* Moods 84, *sigora w.*,²⁸ Met. XI, 71, Beow. 2875, *rodera w.*, Met. X, 30, *heofona w.*, XIII, 6, XXIX, 72, *frymða w.*, Jud. 5, *wuldres w.*, And. 193, Dan. 13, etc., *lifes w.*, Met. XX, 268, XXI, 36, Judg. 85, *gasta w.*, Gen. 2174, *w. engla*, El. 772, *w. manna*, Az. 96, *folca w.*, L. Prayer I, 10, *w. fira*, Beow. 2741, *ylda w.*, 1661, *duguða w.*, Jud. 61, *ðeoda w.*, Maldon 173, similarly Met. XX, 256; *mægena w.*, El. 347, *weoroda w.*, 751, etc. As compound we note *se ricesða / ealles oferwealdend*, 1235. Similarly we have *alwalda* Beow. 1314, etc., *se allwalda*, Gen. 292, etc., *ealwalda engelcynna*, 246, *to anwaldan*, Beow. 1272, *ecne onwealdan ealra gesceafta*, Gu. 610.²⁹

188. *Frēa*, Goth. *frauja*, OS. *frā(h)o*, OHG. *frō*, is not infrequently used.³⁰ *Frea folces gehwæs, fæder ælmihtig*, Dan. 401, *frumsceafta frea*, Ex. 274, *frea engla*, Gen. 157, 2836, etc., *sigora frean*, Ph. 675; *liffrea*, Beow. 16, similarly Gen. 16; *agendfrea*, 2141, the same term being applied to Sarah 2237.

189. *þeoden*, really the chief of the people, is not very frequent. *Se ðioden*, Met. XI, 80, *þeoden engla*, Maldon 178, El. 776, *engla þeoden*, Ex. 431, *ðearlmod þeoden gumena*, Jud. 91, etc.

²⁵ Koehler, *Germania*, XIII, p. 131, says: "*dryhten*, dass ganz entschieden germanische Anschauung verräth, indem Gott als oberster Kriegsherr bezeichnet wird, wenn auch nicht gerade hierin eine Anspielung auf den Sieg spendenden Wodan, den *Valseþr*, zu suchen sein wird."

²⁶ Rankin, VIII, p. 413.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 405: "Undoubtedly equivalent to *dominus exercituum*."

²⁸ Read *waldend* or *wealdend*.

²⁹ Under *wealdend* we note *wyrda wealdend*, El. 80, etc., of which Rankin, VIII, 414, says: "An interesting analogical formation. Is there any allusion to the Norns, or does the term mean simply 'ruler of destinies'? The latter is more probable."

³⁰ In OE. and OS. this term is being superseded by *dryhten*, *drohtin*.

190. *Brego*,²¹ ruler, chief, is used a few times. *Brego moncynnes*, Judg. 7, Met. XX, 43, *brego engla*, Ph. 497, Chr. III, B, 36, Gen. 181, 976, 1008, etc.

191. *Hearra*,²² lord, chief, master, applied also to men, is frequent in the *Genesis*. Referring to Adam, *herra se goda*, 678, *hire hearran*, 654, to the chief devil, *hearran sinum*, 726. *Ahof hine wið his hearran*, 263, *uncres hearran*, / *heofoncyninges*, 658, *herran þines*, 567, etc., are applied to God.

192. *Ealdor*, lord, chief, is not so very frequent. *Swegles aldor*, Gen. 2807, similarly Jud. 88, 124; *wuldres aldor*, Gen. 639, *wuldris aldor*, 1511, *wuldres ealdor*, Jul. 153, Partridge 4, Judg. 82, Seaf. 123, etc., *lifes aldor*, Gen. 2762, *weoroda ealdor*, Cr. 229, *gasta ealdor*, Judg. 91.

193. *Weard* is extremely common. We note a few of the more characteristic examples. *Heah hordes weard*, Wonders 39, *hluttur heofones w.*,²³ 52, *heofonrices w.*, Dan. 12, *ðone haligan heofonrices w.*, Charm I, 27, etc., etc., *þu on ecnesse awa, drihten hea, hehsta bist heofonrices w.* (*tu autem Altissimus in aeternum Domine*), Ps. XCI, 7, similarly XC, 1; *rodera w.*, Cr. 222, etc., Met. XI, 20, *rice rædwitan, rodera weardas* (*Father and Son*), Doom 299, *middangeardes w.*, And. 227, *gasta w.*, El. 1021, similarly Gu. 1177; *engla w.*, El. 1100, etc., *moncynnes w.*, Gen. 2757, *folca w.*, Gifts 20, *leohles w.*, Judg. 53, *sigora w.*, Met. XI, 27, *lifes w.*, Gen. 144, 163, Gu. 901. Of compounds we note from the *Psalms*, *heora heafodweard holdne* (*Excelsus*), LXXVII, 19, *erfeweard ealra ðeoda* (*tu hereditabis in omnibus gentibus*), LXXXI, 8.

194. *Hlāford* is employed only occasionally in the religious sense. Applied to God we find it Gen. 2313, etc., while the examples for Christ are a little more numerous. At a later time the word becomes more frequent, while *metod*, etc., are discarded.

195. *Āgend*, really possessor, is found only a few times. Thus, *se agend*, Ex. 295, *lifes agend*, Wonders 55, *lifes agend*, Hymn 3, etc.

196. *Helm*, protector, is not very frequent. *Helm eallwihta*, Gen. 113, *se halga helm ælwihta*, And. 118, *engla helm*, Gen. 2751, *gasta helm*, 2420, similarly 1793.

197. *Hyrde* is used a number of times. *Heofona hyrde*, Judg. 86, *tungla hyrde*, Prayer IV, 9, *þrymmes hyrde*, El. 348, Jud. 60, Jul. 280, *wuldres hyrde*, Beow. 931, *gasta hyrde*, Dan. 199, *duguða hyrde*, Gen. 164,

²¹ Grimm, *Andreas & Elene*, Cassel, 1840, p. 97, remarks: "Kemble hat richtig bemerkt, dass das wort weder im gen. und dat., noch in pl. vorkomme, es gilt, gleich dem ahd. frō, nur als titel und anrede. Lauter zeichen hohes altertums."

²² Old Low German loan; comparative of OTeut. **hairo*, old, venerable. Compare *NED.* under *her*.

²³ Read *weard*.

leohtes hyrde, Prayer IV, 7, Az. 121, 129, *ðeoda hyrde*, Az. 150; *feorhhyrde*, Dox. 8.

198. *Gēocend*, preserver, is not frequent. *Gasta geocend*, El. 682, *gasta geocend*, Gu. 1106, etc.

199. *Brytta*, dispenser or distributor, is also not very frequent. *Torhtmod tīres brytta*, Jud. 93, *boldes brytta*, El. 162, *līfes brytta*, Gen. 122, 129.

200. *Nergend*, although generally applied to Christ, may also designate the Godhead, or the first person of the Trinity.³⁴ *Nergend* or *nergend usser* is frequent in *Genesis*, as 855, 903, 1367, etc., Met. XX, 249, *sawla nergend*, Ph. 498, Gn. Ex. 135, *niða nergend*, Dan. 313, El. 503, 1085, similarly Gu. 612; *nerigend fira*, El. 1172, *nergend wera*, L. Prayer I, 3.

201. *Hælend* is rare, being found twice, *towerpan wuldres leoman*, / *bearn helendes*, Sat. 86, and *ymb þreo niht com þegen hælandes* / *ham to helle*, 426.

202. We note here also *rodera ræðend*, Beow. 1555, Chr. III, B, 23, *staðolfæst styrend*, And. 121, *ðeoda ræswan*, 1622, *scyldend usser* (*Protector noster*), Ps. LXXXIII, 9, *weoruda wilgiefa*, Ph. 465, etc.

203. *Dēma* and *dēmend*, used a few times. *Forðon him is dema drihten sylfa* (*quoniam Deus iudex est*), Ps. LXXIV, 6, *æla dema god*, Prayer I, 1, *hehstan deman*, Jud. 4, *se hehsta dema*, 94, *wuldres dema*, 59. *Duguða demend*, And. 1189, *Dæda demend*, Beow. 181, *God sceal on heofenum / dæda demend*, Gn. Cot. 36.

204. To show the fondness of OE. poets for kennings and the extreme tendency to heap them, we note that in the 9 lines of *Cædmon's Hymn* no fewer than 8 occur, which with a single exception differ from one another, *heofonrices weard*, *meotodes meahte*, *wuldorfæder*, *ece drihten*, *halig scyppend*, *monncynnes weard*, *ece drihten*, *frea ælmihtig*. We select two other passages, Dan. 331-3, *þæt þu ana eart ece drihten*, / *weroda waldend*, *woruldgesceafta*, / *sigora settend*, *soðfæst metod*! and Met. XXIX, 79-83, *he is weroda god*, / *cyning and drihten swucera gehwelces*, / *æwelm and fruma eallra gesceafta*, / *wyrhta and sceppend weorulde þisse*, / *wisdom and æ woruldbuendra*.

V. QUALITIES

205. In giving here a number of the more important qualities of the Deity,³⁵ we are fully aware that some of them are so closely associated with

³⁴ Bode, *Kenningar*, p. 73, remarks: "Für die drei Personen werden demnach dieselben Kenningar gebraucht, mit Ausnahme einer weniger wie nergend. . . ." His assertion, here as also in other cases, is not borne out by the facts. Very few kennings are applied to the third person of the Trinity.

³⁵ For OHG. see Raumer, p. 342 ff., where a few of the qualities and gifts of the Deity are discussed. For ON. compare Kahle, I, 378-80, II, 128-9, 137-9.

particular names as almost to become phrases. Many of them will be found among the kennings in our list, but it seemed best to assemble the terms for a few of the more important, though no attempt at completeness has been made. Qualities ascribed to the Godhead, the Father, and the Son will appear, but the distinction has generally been indicated.

206. God is a spirit, as, *ana ece gast*, Dan. 627, *godspedig gast*, Gen. 1009. The fact that God is one is not seldom referred to.

207. God is *ēce* and *ælmihtig*, which qualities are often ascribed to him. Sometimes both occur together, thus, *ðu eca and ðu ælmihtiga*, Met. IV, 29, *se eca and se ælmihtiga*, XI, 74, XX, 132. *Ælmihtig*, / *micel*, *modilic*, *mærbum gefræge* / *and wunderlic witenā gehwylcum!* XX, 1-3, *ðone miclan drihten*, Charm I, 26, *selameahtigne fæder in heofonum*, Az. 156, similarly 140; *Nis nan mihtigra ne nan mæra* / *ne geond ealle þa gesceaft efnlica ðin!* Met. XX, 18-19. Practically the same attributes are ascribed to Christ. He is *cyning on riht* / *wealdend and wyrhta wuldorþrymnes*, / *an ece god eallra gesceafta*, And. 324-6, *ece Crist*, Prayer IV, 55. *Meotod ælmihtig*, And. 902, *anwealda ælmihtig*, Rood B, 153, *ælmihtig god*, 156; *ece ælmihtig ærist gefremede*, Gu. 1073, *ece ælmihtig*, And. 249, 365, El. 799, etc.

208. We have the statement *God us ece biþ*: / *ne wendað hine wyrda ne hine wiht dreceþ* Gn. Ex. 8-9, the Latin *deus immutabilis*. *Geunwendnes*, L. *immutabilitas*, is found Ps. LXXVI, 9. The noun *ēcnes* is used not infrequently, especially in the *Psalms*. *ðu in ecnesse awa . . hehsta bist* (*in aeternum*), XCI, 7, *ðu in ecnysse wunast awa* (*in aeternum*), CI, 10, *on ecnesse*, Cr. 313, *þæt we wuldres eard* / *in ecnesse agan mosten*, 1204. Here may also be noticed, *and ðe self wunast swiðe stille* / *unawendendlic a forð simle!* Met. XX, 16-17, *se ana dema is gestæððig* / *unawendendlic, wlitig and mære*, XXIV, 42-3.

209. *Hālig*, applied to both God and Christ, is extremely common. Referring to God, *halig god*, And. 14, 91, *þær halig god* / *wið færbryne folc gescylde*, Ex. 71, *se halga dryhten*, Prayer IV, 1, *halig is se halga heahengla god*, El. 750, etc. Said of Christ, *ðu eart soðlice simle halig*, Hymn 36, (*clypiað to Criste*, line 12) *Halig eart þu, halig, heofonengla cyningc*, L. Prayer III, 13, *halig eart þu halig heahengla brego*, / *soð sigores freal simle þu bist halig*, Cr. 403-4. *Hālignes* is extremely rare. We find it in the sense of *sanctitas* Ps. LXXXVIII, 32, while XCV, 6, it renders *sanctimonia*.

210. *Sōð* is frequently applied to both God and Christ. *ðu soða god*, Met. XX, 51, *soðne god*, Rim. 87, *soð cyning*, Met. XX, 246. Referring to Christ, we note only *Eala þu soða and þu sibsuma*, / *ealra cyninga cyning*,

Crist ælmihtig! Cr. 214-15, etc. *Sōðfæst* is often found, used of both God and Christ. *Sōðfæst sylfa dryhten* (*rectus Dominus Deus noster*), Ps. XCI, 14, *drihten is sōðfæst* (*justus*), CXXVIII, 3; applied to Christ, *sōðfæst meotud*, And. 386, *sōðfæstne god*, L. Prayer III, 54, *sōðfæst sigorbeorht*, Cr. 10, etc. The noun *sōðfæstnes*, frequent in the *Psalms*, renders *veritas*, *iustitia*, *justificationes*. Thus, *veritas* Ps. LVI, 12, *þine sōðfæstnesse* (*iustitiae*), LXX, 16, *on þinre sōðfæstnysse* (*justificationibus*), CXVIII, 16. Outside of the *Psalms* we have it El. 1148, *secean sōðfæstnesse*, / *weg to wuldre*.

211. A term closely related is *rihtnes*, very rare in the *Psalms*. *His syndrig folc on rihtnesse ræde gebringeoð* (*in aequitate*), XCVII, 9, (*bebodu*) *wurðan sōðfæste and on rihtnysse ræda getrymede* (*facta in veritate et aequitate*), CX, 5. Here may also be noted *rihtwisnes*, *rectitudo*, *iustitia*, e.g., Ps. LXXXVII, 12.

212. The benignity and liberality of God are frequently emphasized. We note *milde*, as, *milde meotod*, Az. 90, *se milda metod*, Met. XXIX, 69; of Christ, *moncynnes milde scyppend*, Cr. 417, *swa we mildum wið ðe*, / *ælmihtigum gode oft abyrged*, L. Prayer II, 21. *Mildheort* is seldom found outside of the *Psalms*. In the examples we give other terms of a similar character also occur. *He þonne is mildheort and manðwære* (*misericors—propitius*), LXXVII, 37, *Mildheort þu eart and mihtig, mode gepyldig*, . . . *is þin milde mod mannum cyðed* (*Miserator et misericors Dominus: longanimus, et multum misericors*), CII, 8, *Mildheort is drihten and mannþwære and gepyldig eac*, *pearle mildheort* (*miserator—et misericors Dominus, patiens, et multum misericors*), CXLIV, 8. *Mildheortnes* is confined to the *Psalms*, rendering the Latin *misericordia*. The term is not infrequent, occurring for instance LXXXV, 12, CII, 11.

213. *Fremsum*, L. *benignus*, is used a few times. *þin milde mod mannum fremsum* (*benigna est misericordia tua*), Ps. LXVIII, 16, *Syleð us fremsum god fagere drihten* (*Dominus dabit benignitatem*), LXXXIV, 11, *fæstræd and fremsum* (*bonus*), CXXXIV, 3. *Fremsumnes* renders *benignitas* Ps. LXIV, 12.

214. *Fæle* is not very frequent. *þin eart fæle god* (*Deus*), Ps. LXVI, 3, *Folc þe andettan fæle drihten* (*Deus*), 5, *fælum fæder* (-), LXXXVIII, 23, *fæle dryhten* (*Dominus*), CXVII, 6, 7.

215. Living is not infrequent as an attribute. *Lifiende god* (-), Ps. LXX, 8, *lifigende god*, (*Deus*), 16, *Gefultuma us, frea ælmihtig, and alys us, lifigende god* (*Adjuva nos Deus salutaris noster: et propter gloriam nominis tui Domine libera nos*), LXXVIII, 9, *lifigende god*, Prayer IV, 18, Az. 78, *þu lignest nu, þæt sie lifigende*, / *se ofer deoflum dugubum wealdeð*, Dan.

764-5, *lifendum gode*, Soul 69, etc. Said of Christ, *se lifgenda*, Gu. 1072, *lifende Crist*, Ps. L. 126, *Crist lifend*, Prayer III, 22, *god lifigende*, And. 1409, Sat. 574.

216. Famous is used sometimes. *Mære god*, Prayer IV, 4, *þu eart mære god and Jacobes god se mæra* (*Deus Jacob*), Ps. LXXXIII, 8; applied to Christ, *hu þu mære eart, mihtig drihten*, Prayer III, 17, *hu þu mære eart, mihtig and mægenstrang*, 21, *ðin sunu mære*, Dox. 10, etc. We note further *bremen dryhten*, Az. 116, 142, *þæs breman fæder*, Doom 296, applied to God; referring to Christ, *fram gebyrdtide breman cinges*, Chr. III, A, 13.

217. Wise is used a few times. *Ðæt is wīs cyning*, Met. XXIV, 34, *witig drihten*, Beow. 1554, *witig dryhten*, Deor 32, *wigtig drihten*, Beow. 1841, *witig god*, Cr. 226; of Christ, *sigefæst and snottor*, Har. 23, *reðe and rihtwīs*, L. Prayer III, 63.

218. Humility is a number of times ascribed to Christ. *Ēaðmōd*, Gu. 496, Cr. 255, *þurh eaðmedu ealle biddað*, 359; apparently corresponding to L. *benignus*, *þu eart se miccla and se mægenstranga / and se eadmoda ealra goda*, Prayer III, 39, *swa þu eadmod eart ealre worlde*, L. Prayer III, 57. Applied to God, *þara eaðmetta eardfæst*, Met. VII, 38.

219. Purity is asserted of Christ, for instance, *þæt is se clæna Crist, drihten god*, L. Prayer II, 17, *þu eart cyning on riht / clæne and cræftig*, Dox. 53, and it is also said of him, *of grundum godbearn astag, / cyning clænra gehwæs*, Cr. 702-3.

220. A number of terms may here conveniently be gathered together, such as *tīrfæst metod*, Gen. 1044, *dōmfæst cyning*, 2376, Az. 99, *wuldorfæst cyning*, 133, *wārfæst metod*, Gen. 1320, 1549, *ārfæst*, 2405, *hu arfæst is ealles waldend*, El. 512, the noun in the sense of mercy, pity, occurring Hymn 23, *ðe ðy manscilde middangeardes / for þinre ārfestnesse ealle towurpe* (Christ).

221. Love, anger, etc., etc., are also ascribed to God, but these and similar terms need no discussion here.

222. A few striking expressions referring to the Godhead or the Father may follow here. *Friðstōl* (*refugium*), a few times in the *Psalms*, as LXXXIX, 1, similarly XCIII, 21. *Ðu eart sio birhtu . . . / soðes leohtes and ðu selfa eart / sio fæste ræst, . . . / eallra soðfæstra*, Met. XX, 269-72, *hiofones leohtes hlutre beorhto*, XXI, 39, *þæt micle leoht / godes ælmihtiges*, 42-3, *ðæt is sio soðe sunne mid rihte*, XXX, 17. *Ðu eart selfa weg / and latteow eac lifgendra gehwæs / and sio whitige stow, þe se weg to ligð*, Met. XX, 277-9. *þu earce eart eallhaligra* (*tu et arca sanctificationis tue*), Ps. CXXXI, 8. *Forþan ðu eðest miht ealra læca*, Prayer I, 6.

VI. GIFTS

223. Many are the gifts bestowed upon man by the Deity, and references to them are frequent.* Since the gifts of God and Christ are practically the same, and as no clear distinction is made in many cases, we shall treat the whole subject here, pointing out, however, distinctive references.

224. We may open the discussion by quoting from *Meters*, where the goodness of God is emphasized as also the fact that he is the author of all good things. *For gode godes*, Met. III, 10, *ðin goodness is, / ælmihtig god, eall mid ðe selfum*, XX, 31-2, *eart ðe selfa / þæt hehste good*, 45-6, *æwelme . . . eallra gooda*, 259, *þone hlutrestan heofontorhtan stream, / æðelne æwelme ælces goodes*, XXIII, 3-4, *þæt hehste good on heahselle / siteð sylf cyning*, XXIX, 75-6. From the *Psalms* we note, *se goda god(-)*, CV, 36, *ecne drihten þæne goodan god (Domino quoniam bonus)*, CVI, 1, similarly CXVII, 1, 2, etc.

225. *Bletsian* and *gebletsian* are comparatively frequent, especially in the *Psalms*. We note only, *gebletsige (benedicant) us, bliðe drihten, and usic god eac bletsige (benedicant)*, Ps. LXVI, 6, *þa he Noe / gebletsade*, Gen. 1505. The noun is *bletsung*, as, *brohte him bletsunge (benedictionem)*, Ps. LXXXIII, 7, *bletsung (benedictio)*, CXXVIII, 6, *He onfon sceal / blisse minre and bletsunge*, Gen. 2331, *þæt nu bletsung mot bæm gemæne / werum and wifum (in Heaven)*, Cr. 100.

226. A word closely related is *segnian* and *gesegnian*. *His wuduon ic wordum bletsige and gesegnade (benedicens benedicam)*, Ps. CXXXI, 16, applied to the ark, *segnade earce innan agenum spedum*, Gen. 1365, referring to Christ's blessing at the Judgment Day, *gesenade / on eðel faran engla dreames*, Cr. 1342. *Segnung* occurs Ps. CXXXI, 19, where (*cymeð*) *minra segnunga soðfæst blostma* translates *efflorescit sanctificatio mea*.

227. *Hælu*, f., in the sense of *salutare*, *salus*, is very common. *Ece hælu (salutare)*, Ps. LII, 7, *þær ic on þinre hælo hyldo sohte (salutare)*, CXVIII, 123, *hælo and frofre*, And. 95, *mid heortan hælo secen*, Cr. 752, *hælo strynan*, 1575, *þære hælo, þe he us to hyhte forgeaf*, 613. *Hæl*, fn., is also frequently used. We note only, *sawlum to hæle*, L. Prayer II, 16, *Ðis is an hæle earmre sawle (sola salus animae)*, 22, Doom 43, *his (thief) hæle begeat and help recene (salutem)* 31, 62. The verbs *hælan* and *gehælan* are also used, the participle being often applied to Christ, as, *hælendne cyning*, Creed 10.

228. *Ālysnes* will be discussed under redemption of Christ. *Ālysing* in the sense of redemption we have, *He alysinge leofum folce soðe onsende (redemptionem)*, Ps. CX, 6. *Ālýsend* is applied to God, *eart alysend min*

* For ON. see Kahle, II, p. 129, 139-40.

(*liberator*), Ps. LXIX, 7, *alysend* (*redemptor*), LXXVII, 34. *Lýsan*, *ālýsan*, *tolýsan* are not infrequently employed. Probably referring to the Father, we have, *sawle alysan*, L. Prayer III, 4, *est hig alyse*, / *sawle of synnum þurh þine soðan miht*, 7. For examples referring to Christ see 260.

229. *Gifnes*, favor, mercy, occurs only rarely. The examples are, *biddað soðfæstne god* / *are and gifnesse ealre þeode*, L. Prayer III, 55, similarly *are and gifnes*, 110; *Ac alys us of yfele! ealle we beþurfon* / *godes gifnesse*, 114, all the examples probably referring to Christ. In much the same sense *forgifnes* is used, as, (Christ gives) *his forgifnesse guman to helpe*, Cr. 427, but in *þu forgifnesse hæfst gearugne tīman* (*veniae tempus*, 34), Doom 68, similarly 91, the meaning is rather forgiveness. The verbs *gifan*, *āgifan*, and *forgifan* are common. Of *forgifan* in the sense of to remit we note, *Forgyf us*, . . . *gyllas and synna* / *and ure Leahtras alet*, L. Prayer II, 19, *forgef me, sceppen min* (Christ), Ps. L. 45, *adilga min unriht* / *to forgefenesse gast minum*, 36-7. As shown in the example above, *dātan* in the sense of to forgive occurs, also *forlātan*, e.g., *unriht þu forlete* (*remisisti iniquitatem*), Ps. LXXXIV, 2; expressing an act on the part of man, we note, *swa swa we forlātað leahtras on eorþan*, / *þam þe wið us oft agylltað*, L. Prayer II, 23.

230. *Ār*, f., in the sense of favor, mercy, is frequently found. *Cymeð him seo ar of heofonum*, Seaf. 107, *are and gifnes*, L. Prayer II, 110, *Forgif me to are*, *ālmihlig god*, / *leoht on þissum life*, And. 76, *þonne ic minre sawle swegles bidde*, / *ece are*, Prayer III, 4, *arum bewunden*, Soul 141, etc. Closely related to *ār* is *āre*, f., used for instance, *Us is þinra arna þearf*, Cr. 255, *þonne arna biþearf*, Jul. 715, *arena ic me bidde*, Charm I, 25, etc.

231. *Hyldo*, f., favor, is found frequently. We note only, *metodes hyldo*, Beow. 670, *þa heo ahte mæste þearfe* / *hyldo þæs hehstan deman*, Jud. 4, *hyldo ðine* (*misericordiae*), Ps. LXXVIII, 8. *Hyld*, m., in the sense of protection, favor, we have, *halige heapas on hild godes*, Ex. 568, *halgum gastum*, *þe his hild curon*, Dan. 481, etc.

232. *Mundbyrd*, f., protection, occurs several times, as, *heo ðar ða gearwe funde* / *mundbyrd æt ðam mæran þeodne*, Jud. 3, *ic þe friðe healde*, / *minre mundbyrde mægene besette*, And. 1433, etc.

233. *Frōfor*, consolation, is extremely common. *Him frofre gehet*, Jul. 639, *frofre findan* (at Judgment), Cr. 801, *hæbbe ic þonne* / *æt frean frofre*, Prayer IV, 47. The Holy Spirit is *frofre gast*, which is also applied to God and Christ. Referring to the latter, we have, *þæt is frofre gast hæleða cynne*, And. 906, *Ðu eart on heofonum hiht and frofor*, / *blissa beorhtost*, L. Prayer III, 9. *Heah higefrofre*, Dox. 13, may not refer to the Son, but to *halig gast* immediately following, while in line 8 it is said of the first person,

þu eart frofra fæder. We note further *Beow.* 698, where God gives *frofor and fultum*, and *Men.* 226-8, *fæder engla / his sunu sende on þas sidan gesceaft / folcum to frofre*, similar statements occurring often. We have also, *þa me þine frofre fægere, drihten, gesibbedan sawle mine* (*consolationes tuæ laetificaverunt animam meam*), *Ps.* XCIII, 18.

234. *Milds, milts*, f., mercy, compassion, is very common, used of both God and Christ. *þe sie ealles þonc / meorda and miltsa, þara þu me sealdest*, *Prayer IV*, 67, *nergende cyning, / meotud, for þinre miltse*, 50, *Oft him anhaga are gebideð, / metudes miltse*, *Wand.* 2. Of Christ, *þær is help gearu, / milts*, *And.* 908, *þu miltse on us / gecyð*, *Cr.* 156, *þine milise her / arfæst ywe*, 244, *ealra þinra mildsa / . . . fremde weorðan*, *L. Prayer II*, 29, *biddan wylle / miltse þinre*, *Jud.* 85. Referring to God, *for mænigeo miltsa þinra* (*multitudinem miserationum tuarum*), *Ps.* LXVIII, 16, *æfter his miltsa menigu godes* (*secundum multitudinem misericordiae suae*), *CV*, 34, *þæt eow mihtig god miltse gecyðde*, *Ex.* 292, *þæt we gesine ne syn godes þeodscipes, / metodas miltsa*, 529, etc. *Mildsian* and *gemildsian* are rather common. We note only, (Christ) *mildsa nu, meahlig, manna cynne*, *Hymn 33*, *He þinum mandædum miltsade eallum* (*cui propitiatur omnibus iniquitatibus tuis*), *Ps.* CII, 3.

235. *Lis, liðs*, f., grace, favor, is often used. *Eow liffrean lissa bidde*, *Ex.* 271, *Us is lissa þearf / þæt þu us ahredde*, *Cr.* 373, *þancode swiðe / lifes leohtfruman lisse and ara*, *Gen.* 1889, etc., etc.

236. *Frið, mn.*, peace, protection, fairly frequent. *On friðe drihtnes*, *Dan.* 438, *ac him frið drihtnes / . . . gescylde*, 466, *on frið dryhtnes*, *And.* 1034, *þone halgan heap helpe bidde, / friðes and fullomes*, *Ap.* 91, etc. *Fræod*, f., favor, peace, not very frequent. *þær bið symle gearu / freod unhwilen*, *And.* 1154, etc. *Freoðo*, f., peace, favor, security, not very frequent. *Utan us to fæder freoþa wilnian*, *Cr.* 773, *Ic* (Christ) *eow freoðo healde*, *And.* 336, etc.

237. As in the case of the attributes of the Deity, this list is not intended to be exhaustive. It could be extended considerably by the enumeration of all the blessings and favors bestowed upon man. Little would be gained by such a procedure, while in many cases it would involve unnecessary repetition. Therefore only the more important and characteristic terms have been included in our list.

VII. CHRIST

238. In order to render the Hebrew ישׁוּעַ the Greeks either adopted *Ἰησοῦς* or translated it by *σωτήρ*, while Latin similarly has *Jesus* and *salva-*

tor. OHG. and ON.³⁷ follow these languages in using both the proper name and a translation, but OE. employs only a translation, namely *hælend*, substantive form of the past participle of *hælan*, OS. having *heland*, OHG. *heilant*, all of which go back to the OTeut. **hailjan*, to heal, save.³⁸ Regarding the giving of the name it is said Men. 4, (*Crist was acennyd*, 1) *on þy eahteodan dæg / hælend gehaten heofonrices weard*. The name is rather frequent in the poetry. We note only, *þæt ðu hælend eart / middangeardes*, El. 808-9, *ðu eart sigefest sunu and soð hælend*, Hymn 16, *hælend*, Ph. 650, Judg. 64, *se gehalgoda hælend*, Cr. 435, *drihten hælend*, Sat. 219, Prayer III, 24, similarly And. 541; *hælend god*, Cr. 383, Sat. 493, Prayer III, 9. We also find the juxtaposition *hælend Crist*, Cr. 358, as also the combination *hælende Crist*, 250, Ph. 590.

239. However, much more common is *Crist*,³⁹ used in the poetry as a proper name, though *crist* in its etymological sense occurs a few times in the *Psalms*, the passages to be discussed in 243. The Old Testament employs מָשִׁיחַ, the anointed one, in order to designate the promised Messiah, while the New Testament either adopts the term as *Meōōlas* or translates it by ὁ Χριστός. Then it passes into Latin as *Christus*. The other Germanic dialects also have taken over the word, each of course subjecting it to its sound laws.⁴⁰

240. We note a few examples of the exceedingly frequent term, the quotations given emphasizing by a modifier the peculiar function attributed. *Nergendne Crist*, Sat. 346, *nergende Crist*, Gu. 570, Sat. 570, *neriende Crist*, L. Prayer II, 4, with a change in the word order, *Crist / nergend*, Hymn 39, *Crist nergende*, Cr. 157, *Crist nerigende*, L. Prayer II, 28. Here may also be noted such occurrences as *waldend Crist*, Doom 52, *þone ahangnan Crist*, El. 797, etc.

241. In OE. poetry Christ occupies a very prominent place, appearing also in poems dealing with the Old Testament history, as, *soð sunu metodes*, *sawla nergend*, Dan. 402, *Crist cyning*, Az. 103, *þone soðan sunu*, 157, *ac hy Crist scilde*, 165.

³⁷ Regarding terms etc. referring to Christ in OHG. compare Raumer, p. 354 ff., for ON. see Kahle, I, 382 ff., II, 129 ff.

³⁸ Raumer, p. 355 ff., *NED.* under *healend*.

³⁹ Kluge, *Paul's Grundriss*, 2. Auflage, I, p. 929, remarks: "Auch das *t* von ae. *Crist* deutet im Zusammenhange mit der eben vorgeführten kirchlichen Terminologie auf air. *Crist*," but p. 359, Anm.: "Das Wort *Christus* haben die Germanen in der lateinisch-romanischen Form *Cristus* als angels. *Crist* übernommen." See also MacG., p. 19, and p. 20, note 1, Morsbach's remark on MacG.'s note that he has never found in the MSS. any marks of length in the case of derivatives, "If this is really the case, we may assume shortness of vowel in O.E. *Crist*, *cristen*, &c. and explain the M.E. and N.E. lengthenings through French influence."

⁴⁰ Raumer, pp. 359-60.

242. A peculiar phenomenon is to be noticed in the *Psalms*. In *Ps. L. (Cottoniana)* Christ seems to have occupied the place of God. His name is inserted, though there is not the slightest warrant for it in the Vulgate. David is called *Criste lifost*, line 3, to whom he also prays, (*ic*) *helende Crist helpe biððe*, 50. In 126 we have *lifiende Crist*, which is entirely on a par with *god lifende*, 134, etc., and similar terms. The Savior is addressed *dryhten Crist*, line 88. The other occurrences are, *þæt hio cerrende Criste herdon*, 56, *þonne ic geclēnsod Criste hero*, 74, and *mehlig god mannum to frofre / ðæs cynedomes Crist neriende / waldende god weorðne munde*, 149.

243. In the other *Psalms* a similar fact may be observed, though perhaps it is less striking on account of the isolated cases. A few times the word is used in the sense of anointed, rendering the Latin *christus*. Thus, *oncnaw onsyne cristes þines (respice in faciem christi tui)*, LXXXIII, 9; applied to David, *þu þonne wiðsoce soþum criste and hine forhogodeð (distulisti christum tuum)*, LXXXVIII, 32, similarly *fæste ætwiðað and þæt þinum criste becweþað swiðe (christi tui)*, 44, as also *bere for minum criste gecorenum (christo meo)*, CXXXI, 18. While there is thus a warrant in the Vulgate for the OE. rendering, the same cannot be said of the other occurrences. The author of the poetic version of the *Psalms* has in a characteristic manner transferred Christ to the Old Testament. We read, *on circean Crist drihten god bealde bletsige (In ecclesiis benedicite Deo Domino)*, LXVII, 24, and *gecyr us georne to ðe, Crist ælmihtig*, LXXXIV, 5, renders *Converte nos Deus salutaris noster*. *Hælynde Crist* has been inserted CVIII, 25, being on a par with *drihten god* just preceding. We note, *do me cuðlice halne, heahcýning, heofona wealdend, halende Crist*, CXVIII, 146, the passage showing the synonyms. In CXXXIII, 2, and CXXXIV, 2, *Dei* is rendered by *Cristes*, for we read *on caferturnum Cristes huses (in atriis domus Dei nostri)*. Finally, *on cyrcean cristenes folces*, CVI, 31, renders *in ecclesia plebis*.

244. In addition to *hælend* and *Crist*, the term *Emmānūhēl* is once applied to Christ, Cr. 132.

245. At this point we shall take up the life of Christ during his sojourn on the earth, the work of redemption and reconciliation, followed by a discussion of the names and figures which are applied to him.

246. All the important phases of Christ's life upon the earth are treated in the poetry to a greater or less extent. Only the main points will be considered by us. His coming to the earth is sometimes spoken of as the sending of God, Men. 226-7, at other times as Christ's decision and will to become man, *þu fore monna lufan þinre modor bosm / sylfa gesohtes, sigedrihten god*, Har. 110-11, similarly Ap. 27-8, Cr. 445-6, etc. He was conceived by the Holy Ghost, *þær halig gast handgift sealde / þære fæmnan*,

Creed 18, and Invocation 13 tells that Christ was born (*purh Marian, 12*) *purh þane halgan gast*. No specific word for the L. *incarnatio* appears, which is paraphrased, as for instance, *nu eft gewearð / flæsc firena leas*, Cr. 122-3, etc. *Ēacnung*, properly increase, is once used for conception, Cr. 75. Christ's sinlessness is often referred to, so especially regarding his conception and birth, *mennisc hiw / onfeng butan firenum*, Cr. 721-2, *onfeng æt fæmnan flæsc unwemme*, 418, *he of æðelre wæs uirginis partu / clæne acenned Christus in orbem*, Invocation 10-11, etc., *God wæs mid us / gesewen butan synnum*, Cr. 124-5, *sunu synna leas*, El. 777, etc. The birth-place is mentioned several times, so Charm V, A, 3, *Bæðleem hatte seo buruh, þe Crist acenned wæs*, similarly Creed 23-4; Charm V, B, 3, *Bethlem hattæ seo burh, ðe Crist on geboren wæs*. Mary, his mother, is often mentioned, as for instance, *his modor eac Marian sylfe / ælmihtig god*, Rood B, 92-3, etc. To Christ's life in Nazareth refers El. 912-13, *se ðe in Nazareð afeded wæs*.⁴¹

247. Of other events in the life of Christ may be mentioned the betrayal of Judas, to which a reference is found Sat. 575-6, (*Judas*) *se ðe ær on lifre torhtne gesalde / drihten halend*.

248. Very many references are made to the suffering, the passion of Christ. The term used is *þrōwung*, which occurs a few times, *frecn þrōwunga*, Cr. 1130, *dryhtnes þrōwunga*, 1180, *purh his þrōwunga*, 470, and *ðinra ðrōwunga*, Hymn 28. The verb is *þrōwian*, e.g., *Ða se Pontisca Pilatus weold / . . . / þa se deora frea deað þrowade*, Creed 27, etc. *þolian* is also used, as, (on the cross) *wile þolade*, Cr. 1452. Among other things we note the crown of thorns, mentioned twice in Christ, *ymb his heafod heardne gebigdon / beag þyrnenne*, 1126-7, and *þa hi hwæsne beag / ymb min heafod heardne gebygdon, / þream biþrycton, se wæs of þornum geworht*, 1444-6. The crucifixion itself, for which no noun is encountered, takes place *on Calurie*, El. 672, *æfter stedewange, hwær seo stow sie / Calurie*, 675-6, *on þa dune*, 717, *of ðam wangstede*, 793. *Hōn* and *āhōn*, to suspend, are used in the sense of to crucify, thus, (*godes agen bearn*) *purh hete hengen on heanne beam*, El. 424, *āhōn* being more common, *hwær ahangen wæs . . . / on rode treo rodera waldend*, El. 205-6, *þæt hie god sylfne / ahengon*, 209-10, *Pilatus ær on rode aheng rodera waldend*, Jul. 305, etc. It is said that the crucifixion took place with the consent of the Father, (*þrowode*) *meotud on galgan / be fæder leafe*, Men. 86-7.

249. The word for cross is *rōd*, also *trēo* etc. It should be noticed that *galga* is often used interchangeably with *rōd*, *trēo*, etc. The Anglo-Saxons, being unacquainted with crucifixion, substituted the term for hanging.⁴²

⁴¹ Curiously enough, Grein, *Dichtungen*, p. 128, translates, "der geboren war in Nazareth."

⁴² For OHG. see Raumer, p. 362, and note 15, p. 363, where he remarks: "Im Gothischen ist *galga* der gewöhnliche Ausdruck für *σταυρός*." For ON. compare Kahle, II, p. 145 f.

So we have for instance, *þa ic mid Judeum gealgan þehte, / rod wæs aræred*, And. 966-7, *hine rode befealg, / þæt he on gealgan his gast onsende*, 1326-7. In *Elene* especially *galga* occurs frequently, e.g., *hu on galgan wearð godes agen bearn / ahangen*, 179. At other times we have *rōd*, not infrequently both terms occurring in the same sentence. The same fact may be observed where the crucifixion of others than Christ is related, as, *Sume ic rode befealh, / þæt hi hyra dreorge on hean galgan / lif aletan*, Jul. 481-3. Here a few further occurrences of the frequent term *galga* may be given. *On galgum*, Sat. 511, *on galgan*, 550, *he wolde on galgu gestiga*, Rood A, 2, *on gealgan heanne*, Rood B, 40, *fracodes galga*, 10. We also have *on þam gealtreowe*, 146.

250. The cross is mentioned very often in OE. poetry, a whole poem, *Elene*, being devoted to the finding of the cross of Christ, while the *Dream of the Rood* shows how important a part the cross played in the life of the people.⁴³ Besides, there are numerous references to it in other poems. We are told that St. Guthlac *him to ætstælle ærest aræde, / Cristes rōde*, 150-1, at the Judgment there is *seo hea rod*, Cr. 1065, mentioned also 1085 ff., 1102, *rincað at þære rode*, Judg. 105. In the *Dream of the Rood* the invocation of the cross is plainly shown, *gebiddaþ him to þyssum beacne*, B, 83, *Gebæd ic me þa to þan beame*, 122, *ac ðurh ða rode sceal rice gesecan / of earðwege æghwylc sawl*, 119-20. We have a compound in *hiera winrod lixan, / soðfæstra segn*, Sal. 235.

251. In order to show the wealth of expressions for the cross, we note the more important kennings.⁴⁴

252. *Rōd*, f., originally having the sense of L. *virga*, *pertica*, is used in OE. poetry for cross. *Sio halige rod*, El. 720, 1011, 1223, *sio reade rod*, Cr. 1102, *þære deorestan dægweorðunga / rode under roderum*, El. 1233-4, *dryhtnes rod*, Rood B, 136, *æðelcyninges rod*, El. 219, *Cristes rode*, 103, And. 1337.

253. *Trēo*, n. *þæt halige treo*, El. 107, 442, 701, 840, etc., *þæt halige triow / ðinre ðrowunga*, Hymn 27-8, *þæt wlitige treo*, El. 165, *sylicre treow*, Rood B, 4, *þæt mære treo*, El. 214; *hælendes treow*, Rood B, 25, *wuldres treo*, El. 827, 866, similarly 1251, Rood B, 14; *lifes treow*, El. 664, similarly 706, 1026; *wealdes treow*, Rood B, 17, *on rode treowe*, Ph. 643, *on rode treo*, El. 206, 855, Jul. 447, *his rode treo*, El. 147.

254. *Bēam* is also fairly common. *On heanne beam*, El. 424, *ic wæs ahongen on heanne beam / rode gefæstnad*, Cr. 1447, *þone æðelan beam*, El. 1073, *æpelust beama*, Men. 84, *þone halgan beam*, Cr. 1094, *on ful blacne*

⁴³ Regarding the place of the cross among the Anglo-Saxons and its veneration, see Stevens, W. O., *The Cross in the Life and Literature of the Anglo-Saxons*, New York, 1904.

⁴⁴ A few are given by Bode, *Kenningar*, pp. 86-7. Rankin names some IX, p. 62.

beam bundan fæste, Judg. 66, *se leohta beam*, Cr. 1090, *þone beorhtan beam*, El. 1254, *beama beorhtost*, Rood B, 6, *mærost beama*, El. 1012, 1224, also *se wuldres beam*, El. 217. Of compounds we note *sigebeam*, Rood B, 13, in the dat. sing., El. 420, 444, 860, *sigebeamas .III.*, El. 846, *selest sigebeama*, 1027. Regarding the cross Constantine saw in the dream it is said, *Geseah he frætwum beorht / witi wuldres treo ofer wolcna hrof, / golde geglenged: gimmas lixtan; / was se blaca beam bocstafum awriten / beorhte ond leohte*, El. 88-92. This serves as the pattern of the cross he causes to be made.

255. Of other kennings we add *bēacen*, sign. *þæt fuse beacen*, Rood B, 21, *beacna beorhtast*, Cr. 1086, *beacna selest*, Rood B, 118, *beacen godes*, El. 109. Of compounds *sigebeacen soð*, El. 887, in the dat. sing. 168, 665, 1256, *selest sigebeacna*, 974, *sigorbeacen*, 984. *Tācen*, sign. *Mære tacen*, And. 1338, *tacna torhtost*, El. 164, *sigores tacen*, 85. In El. 790 the cross is called *þæt goldhord*.

256. The nails of the cross are mentioned several times in *Elene*, 1064 ff. and 1112-14, where they are characterized, *swylce heofonsteorran / oððe godgimmas*.

257. Christ's descent into hell receives a large share of attention in OE. poetry, one whole piece, the *Harrowing of Hell*, being entirely devoted to that subject. In other poems it is also mentioned. No specific term to denote the descent has been encountered, and the subject need not detain us here. We note only, *ymb þreo niht com þegen hælendes / ham to helle*, Sat. 426-7.

258. Resurrection is expressed by *ærist*, mfn., a word comparatively rare. We find, *drihtnes ærist*, Men. 58, *ece ælmihtig ærist gefremede*, Gu. 1073, *þinum æriste*, Har. 121. The verb is *ārisan*. The resurrection of Christ is variously expressed, thus, *þæs þe drihten god of deaðe aras*, Sat. 516, *he þy þridðan dæge / . . . lif eft onfeng / þurh fæder fultum*, Ph. 644-6, *ðu of deaðe hine / swa þrymlice, þeoda waldend, / aweakte for weorodum*, El. 779-81, *open wæs þæt eorðærn, æþelinges lic / onfeng feores gæst*, Har. 19-20, *hagosteald onwoc / modig from moldan*, 21-2.

259. In order to express ascension we have once only *stīge*, m., *drihtnes stīge / on heofonas up*, Men. 64. *Upstīge* is also rare, *æt his upstīge*, Cr. 615, *æfter upstīge ecan dryhtnes*, 711. A number of times the verb is employed, *Gesegon hi on heahþu hlaford stigan, / godbearn of grundum*, Cr. 498, etc., *ærpon upstīge ancenned sunu*, 464.

260. Christ says, *ða mec ongon hreowan* (that man should be lost), Cr. 1415, and *þa me gereaw, þæt min handgeweorc / carcernes clom ðrowade*, Sat. 489-90. Redemption was the purpose of his work upon earth. To that end he performed miracles, *wundor, þa þe worhte weoroda dryhten / to*

feorhnere fira cynne, El. 896-7. The subject of *wundor* is treated at some length And. 569 ff. This work of redemption, mainly accomplished through vicarious suffering, is expressed in different ways. It is suffering for the sins of mankind, *þæs he on þone halgan beam ahongen wæs / fore moncynnes manforwyrhtu*, Cr. 1094-5, *þæt he for ælða lufan / firenfremmendra fela browade*, 1117-18, *se ðe ælmihtig god on browode / for mancynnes manegum synnum / and Adomes ealdgewyrhtum*, Rood B, 98-100, *ær browode / on þam gealgtreowe for guman synnum*, 145-6, and somewhat varying, *þær he earseþu / gebolade fore þearfe þeodbuendra*, Cr. 1172-3. It is a saving, a rescuing from sin, devil, and hell, *nerian*, *generian*, *lȳsan* and *ālȳsan* being used. *þæt hi frea nerede / fram hellcwale halgum meathum / alwalda god*, Cr. 1189-91, *þæt þu of deofles þurh þæt / nydgewalde genered wurde*, 1450-51; *þa he wolde mancyn lȳsan*, Rood B, 41, *fram ligcwale lȳsan þohte*, El. 296, also *hu se sylfa cyning / mid sine lichoman lȳsde of firenum* (that sinners might live), Cr. 1209-10, *alȳsde leoda bearn of locan deofla / geomre gastas*, El. 181-2, *þe ic alȳsde me / feondum of fæðme*, Cr. 1485-6, and *þæs ðe þu us milde mihtum alȳsdest / fram hæfnyde hellewites*, L. Prayer II, 35-6. *Onlȳsan* and *tolȳsan* are also found.

261. Occasionally redemption is represented as buying, as the payment of a ransom. Thus, *folc generedes, / blode gebohtest bearn Israela*, Hymn 25-6, (*hafað wulf*) *þin eowde / wide towrecene, þæt ðu waldend ær / blode gebohtes*, Cr. 257-9, and *þe mine deaðe deore gebohte / þæt longe lif*, 1463-4. Besides *bycgan* and *gebycgan*, *cēapian* is also found, *þær he leoflice lifes ceapode / . . . / mid þy weorðe, þe no wom dyde / his lichoma leahtra firena, / mid þy usic alȳsde*, Cr. 1096, and once also we meet with *gecȳpan*, *lif þæt scyne, / þæt ic þe for lufan mid mine lichoman / heanum to helpe hold gecȳpte*, 1472.

262. Redemption is also conceived of as the routing of the devil, as for instance, *ðe ðy manscilde middangeardes / for þinre arfestnesse ealle towurpe, / fiond geflæmdest*, Hym 23-5.

263. It was the object of Christ to effect a reconciliation between God and man, and to end the existing enmity. The word employed is *geþingian*, *geþingade þeodbuendum / wið fæder swæsne fahþa mæste / cyning anboren*, Cr. 616. In the sense of to reconcile it is also used of St. Juliana, *þæt me seo halge wið þone hyhstan cyning / geþingige*, Jul. 717. It may also denote intercession, as Cr. 342, where the Virgin Mary is implored, *Gepinga us nu pristum wordum. . . . Þingian* is also employed in the sense of intercession. Thus it is said of Stephen, *ac his ealdfeondum / þingode þrohterd*, El. 494, and Christ himself remarks, *Ic eow þingade*, Sat. 509. Applied to David we have, *to ðingienne þiodun sinum*, Ps. L. 7, similarly 26 and 146.

264. Christ is god. So it is said of him, *þis is se ilca ealwalda god, /*

ðone on fyrndagum fæderas cuðon, And. 751-2, being directly identified with the God of the Old Testament, further, *þæt þu eart sylfa god, / ece ordfruma ealra gesceafta*, Sat. 441, *þæt hie god sylfne / ahengon*, El. 209-10, *God was mid us / gesewen butan synnum*, Cr. 124-5, *Nu is rodera weard / god sylfa mid us*, 134-5, etc. We add a few terms which recall passages from the Creeds or seem to be approximations. *Swa þu god of gode gearo acenned*, Cr. 109, *butan anginne*, 111, *efenece mid god*, 122, *efeneardige mid þinne engan frean*, 237, *efenwesende in þam æpelan ham*, 350, *efenece bearn agnum fæder*, 465. In some of these cases the attributes are applied to him though at the same time he is called the Son.

265. A number of kennings⁴⁵ appear, of which we cite the more characteristic. *Nergende god*, Cr. 361, *waldende god*, 1011, *lifigende god*, 273, similarly L. Prayer III, 25; *god lifigende*, And. 1409, *lifigende god*, L. Prayer III, 101, *mihtig god*, Cr. 1008, 1171, *ælmihigne god*, Rood B. 60, *ælmihiti god*, And. 260, similarly Rood B. 92; *soðfæstne god*, L. Prayer III, 54, similarly 115; *þone ahangnan god*, El. 687. *Drihten god*, And. 1281, Sat. 516, L. Prayer II, 18, *god drihten*, And. 897, *gæsta god*, Cr. 130, *engla god*, L. Prayer III, 122, *weoroda god*, Cr. 407, *ealwalda god*, And. 751, 925, *wealdend god*, El. 4.

266. Christ is the *sunu*. *Sunu meotodes*, Sat. 143, 173, *soð sunu meotodes*, El. 461, *haligne godes sunu*, Sat. 528, *beorhtne sunu*, Cr. 205, *acenned sunu*, 464, *waldendes sunu*, Sat. 119, *sunu soþan fæder*, Cr. 110. *Godes gastsunu*, El. 673, similarly Cr. 660, 861.

267. Another term used is *bearn*,⁴⁶ very frequent with *godes*, *metodes*, *waldendes*, etc. *Godes agen bearn*, Sat. 10, *godes ece bearn*, And. 747, *efenece bearn*, Cr. 465, *efeneadig bearn*, Hymn 21, *æðelust bearna*, El. 476, *ða beorhtan bearn*, 782. *Godbearn*, And. 640, Cr. 499, 682, 702, etc., similarly Ph. 647; *frumbearn*, Cr. 507, *frumbearn godes*, Sat. 470, *freobearn*, Creed 43, *freobearn godes*, Sat. 289, Cr. 643, 788, *cyninges freobearn*, El. 672, *rodera weard / æt frymðe genom him to freobearne*, Cr. 223, *cynebearn*, And. 566, *cynebearn gecydd cwyrcum and deadum, / æpele and ece ofer ealle þingc*, L. Prayer III, 117, *wuldres cynebearn*, Men. 159, *hælubearn*, Cr. 586, *hælobearn*, 754, *sigebearn godes*, El. 481, 862, Har. 32, etc., *ælmihiti / sigebearn godes*, El. 1146.

268. In order to emphasize both the human and the divine nature in

⁴⁵ Bode in his *Kennings*, p. 79 ff., has included those belonging to the Son in the kennings for "Gott," so that only in a few cases one is able to make any distinction. Rankin, *Kennings*, may be compared under headings such as "God as Son," "God as Savior," etc. He also does not clearly distinguish between the persons.

⁴⁶ Rankin, *Kennings*, VIII, p. 419, remarks: "It is noteworthy that *bearn* occurs far more frequently than *sunu*, which apparently was a word of more commonplace and prosaic connotation."

Christ, the author of the *Christ* states that fact in (*somod eardedom*) *mihtig meotudes bearn and se monnes sunu*, 126.

269. Although Christ is the Son, he is also a few times identified with the Father. Thus, *fæder frumsceafta*, Cr. 472, *þa he on rode astag, / fæder, frofre gæst*, 728, (*þonne Crist siteð*, etc.) *on heahsetle heofonmægna god, / fæder ælmihtig*, 1219. He is also called *fæder mancynnes*, And. 1465, Ap. 29, *fæder folca gehwæs*, And. 330, *frumweorca fæder*, And. 804. Curiously enough, we find in L. Prayer III, 42-3, the bold statement, *þu eart sunu and fæder / ana ægþer*.

270. Christ dwelt before his incarnation with the Father in glory. *Ic wolde towerpan wuldres leoman, / bearn helendes*, Sat. 85-6, and *ðæs ic wolde of selde sunu meotodes, / drihten adrifian*, 173-4, the chief of the fallen angels confesses, but *Crist heo afirde*, 67. He took part in the creation, as it is said of him, *þu eart seo snyttro, þe þas sidan gesceaft / mid þi waldende worhtes ealle*, Cr. 239-40, and he himself says, *Snotre gastas! / ic eow þurh mine mihte geworhte*, Sat. 471-2. Such statements as the following also occur, *waldend and wyrhta wuldorþrymmes, / an ece god eallra gesceafta*, And. 702-3, *ah him alles gewald, / wuldres and wita waldendes sunu*, Sat. 118-9, *þæt he ana is ealra gesceafta / wyrhta and waldend þurh his wuldres craeft*, 584-5. Thus Christ is *scyppend*, a term frequently applied to him. We note such phrases as *scippend ealra*, El. 370, *ealra worulda scippend*, Prayer III, 23, *gasta scyppend*, Sat. 244, *engla scippend*, And. 278, similarly Sat. 535, 563; *hælepa scyppend*, Cr. 266, *moncynnes milde scyppend*, 417, *manra scyppend*, And. 486, similarly Har. 109; *scyppend wera*, And. 787, etc.

271. *Fruma* is not infrequently found. *Fyrnweorca fruma*, Cr. 579, *ealles folces fruma*, Har. 29, 41, *ealra folca fruma*, Cr. 516; *ece eadfruma*, 532, *lifes leofstfruma*, Gu. 565, And. 387, *liffruma*, El. 335, And. 1284, etc., *torhtes tirfruman*, Cr. 206, *engla ordfruma*, Sat. 659, Ap. 28, *æþelne ordfruman ealra gesceafta*, Cr. 402, *eades ordfruma*, 1199, *duguða dædfruma*, And. 75.

272. *Metod*, as in the case of the Father, is extremely frequent, practically the same kennings being employed for each. *Middangeardes meotud*, Judg. 65, *mægencýninga meotud*, Cr. 943, *meotud mancynnes*, And. 69, 446, Sat. 515, etc., etc.

273. *Cýning* is very common. We note only, *þone ahangnan cýning*, El. 453, 933, *ahof ic ricne cýning, / heofona hlaford*, Rood B, 44, *cýning anboren*, El. 392, Cr. 618, *Israhela cýning*, El. 799, *cýning cwicera gehwæs*, And. 912, *hælepa cýning*, Cr. 372, *ealra kýninga kýning*, *Crist lifend*, Prayer III, 22, similarly Sat. 205, And. 978, Jul. 289, Cr. 136, 215, etc.; *repust ealra cýninga*, Har. 36, *selast ealra cýninga*, 117, *cýninga wuldor*, El. 5.

Wuldorcýning, Sat. 115, *weoroda wuldorcýning*, Cr. 161, *heofena heahcýning*, L. Prayer II, 15, similarly Cr. 1340; *heofena heahcýning*, Prayer III, 50, *heofenes heahcýning*, Cr. 150, *rodorcýninges*, El. 886, Cr. 727, *æðelcýninges*, El. 219, *þryðcýning*, And. 436, *sigora soðcýning*, Cr. 1229.

274. Twice we have encountered *cāsere* and once *rex*. *þu gewurðod eart / on heofonrice, heah casere*, L. Prayer III, 60, *caseres lof*, Ph. 634. *Him wearð ece rex, / meotud mīlde, god mīhta waldend*, El. 1042.

275. *Dryhten* is very frequent as an appellation of the Son. A few of the large number of examples may find a place here. *Dryhten ealra*, El. 187, *dryhten halend*, And. 1407, *dryhtna drihten*, 874, *dryhtna dryhten*, Cr. 405. Of compounds we note only *freodrihten*, Sat. 547, *soð sigedrihten*, L. Prayer II, 34.

276. *Frēa* is very frequent. *Frēa moncynnes*, Har. 33, etc., *waldend frēa*, Cr. 328, *soð sigora frēa*, El. 488, *fyrnweorca frēa*, And. 1410, *frēa folca gehwæs*, Hymn 20; *liffreā*, Cr. 15, 27, etc., *heofona heahfrēa*, 253, 424.

277. *þeoden* is not very frequent. *þeoden*, And. 696, *rice þeoden*, And. 364, 415, *þeoden brymfæst*, 323, *brymfæst þeoden*, Cr. 944, And. 323, *engla þeoden*, Cr. 791, 290, 900.

278. *Wealdend* and *weard* are frequently found, while *hlāford* seems more often applied to Christ than to the Father. *Hlāford*, Cr. 498, *reðe and rihtwis*, *rumheort hlāford*, L. Prayer III, 63, *hlāford eallra, / engla and elda*, El. 475-6, *heofona hlāford*, Rood B, 45.

279. *Æðeling* is sometimes applied to Christ. *Æþeling*, Cr. 448, *wuldres æþeling*, Cr. 158, *æðelinges lic*, Har. 3, 19, *æþelinga ord*, Cr. 515, *æðelinga ord*, El. 393, etc.

280. *Āgend*, not very frequent. *Sigores agend*, Cr. 420, 513, *lifes agend*, 471, *swegles agend*, 543, *wuldres agend*, 1198.

281. *Helm*. *Helm wera*, El. 475, *helm alwihta*, Cr. 274, 410, *æðelinga helm*, And. 277, 623, 655, *haligra helm*, Cr. 529, *heofona helm*, Har. 34, *heofonrices helm*, Cr. 566, etc.

282. *Hyrde*. *Halig hyrde*, Gu. 761, *fram gebyrðtīde bremes cinges, / leohta hyrdes*, Chr. III, A, 12, *þrymmes hyrde*, El. 858, *rices hyrde*, And. 807.

283. *Lārēow*, a number of times. *Lareow*, And. 1321, *lifes lareow*, 1466, *boca lareow*, Dox. 12.

284. *Lāttēow*, a few times. *Lifes lattiow*, El. 520, 898, *þæs latteowes lārum hyre*, Gu. 335, etc.

285. Compounds of *giefa*. *Sawla symbolgifa*, And. 1417, *weoruda wuldorgiefa*, Har. 42, *engla eadgifa*, And. 74, 451, *eorla eadgiefan*, Cr. 546, *weoruda willgeofa*, And. 1282, *weoroda willgifa*, El. 814, *hyra wilgifan*, Cr. 537, *hyra sincgiefan*, 460, *folca feorhgiefan*, 556, *beorht blædgifa*, And. 656, *haleða hyhtgifa*, El. 851.

286. *Gēocend*, not very frequent. *Gasta geocend*, And. 548, 901, El. 682, 1076, Cr. 198.

287. *Nergend*, very frequent. *Nerigend fira*, El. 1077, *neregend fira*, And. 291, *sawla nergend*, And. 549, 921, Cr. 571, El. 461, 798, *folca nergend*, Cr. 426, *niða nergend*, Hymn 35.

288. *Dēma*, a number of times. *Ðu ana bist eallra dema*, / *cwucra ge deadra*, *Crist nergend*, Hymn 38-9, *rihtwis dema*, L. Prayer III, 28, *soðfæst dema*, 37, 121; *se sigedema*, And. 661, etc.

289. Of metaphors and figures applied to Christ the most important have been listed.

290. Peculiar are two passages, in which Christ is placed among the heavenly spirits, *engla beorhtast* / *ofer middangeard monnum sended*, Cr. 104, *Siteð him on heofnum halig encgl[a]* / *waldend mid witegum*, Sat. 586.

291. *þæt ic wolde towerpan wuldres leoman*, / *bearn helendes*, Sat. 85, *se was ordfruma ealles leohtes*, Maxims 20, *se soðfæsta sunnan leoma*, Cr. 696, similarly 106; *soðfæstra leoht*, El. 7, *leohtes leoht*, Prayer III, 1, *ealles leohtes leoht*, El. 486, *Ðu eart heofonlic liht*, Hymn 22, *englum and eorð-warum æpele scima*, Cr. 697. *Wlitig wuldres gim*, Ph. 516. *Eala Earendell engla beorhtast* / . . . / *and soðfæsta sunnan leoma* / *torht ofer tunglas*, Cr. 104-7.

292. *þæt þu ðe læce ne cystþ*, Doom 66, *ealra cyninga* / *help and heafod*, *halig læce*, L. Prayer III, 61-2, *uplicum læce*, *se ana mæg* / *aglidene modgod gode gehalan*, Doom 46-7. We quote in passing, *lifes læcedomes æt lifes frean*, Doom 81, *laðað us þider to leohte purh his læcedom*, Sat. 589.

293. We note further, *fugel*, Cr. 636, 645, etc., *mæga goldhord*, Cr. 787, *ðæt halige lamb*, Hymn 22, *godes lombær^a*, Gu. 1045, referring to building, *se cræftga*, Cr. 12, *se weallstan*, 2, *se earcnanstan*, 1196.

VIII. THE HOLY GHOST

294. In the New Testament, e.g., John 1, 33, πνεῦμα ἁγίου appears as the third person of the Godhead, which phrase Christian Latin translates

^a Bode, *Kenningar*, p. 74, remarks: "Unter uns sind einige Kenningar üblich, die das Leiden Christi hervorheben: der Gekreuzigte, das Lamm Gottes, es ist charakteristisch, dass diese bei unseren Altvorden keine Aufnahme gefunden haben." His assertion is not borne out by the facts. We might also point to such close parallels as *þone ahanganan god*, *Crist*, *cyning*.

by *spiritus sanctus*. The OE. term is *gāst*, *gæst*, m., OFris. *gāst*, OS. *gæst*, OHG. *geist*, from the common Westgerm. type **gaistōz*.⁴⁸ It is sometimes used alone, but more generally modified. *Gāst*, like the Greek and Latin terms, has a general meaning, it being used for instance interchangeably with *sāwel*, man's soul or spirit, as Jul. 413-15, El. 888-9, etc., etc. It is also applied to the evil spirits, *fram unclanum oft generede / deofla gastum*, El. 301-2, to the angels, e.g., (God sent) *gast þone halgan; / engel . . .*, Dan. 237-8, etc.

295. When used as a designation for the third member of the Godhead *hālig* is generally added, as Dox. 13, Ex. 96, Jul. 241, Creed 41, Dan. 403, etc. But often the term has a weakened meaning, and may simply stand for the power, the help of God, or the divine spirit. Furthermore it is applied to the first person of the Godhead, as also to the second, of which latter case we cite, *bringan wolde / haligne gast to heofonrice*, Sat. 561-2, and *gast haligne*, Ps. L. 96, which very probably refers to Christ, since in this poem he seems to have assumed the place of the first person for whom we should naturally look. A reference to Christ is also found in *heofonhālig gast*, And. 728. Aside from the clear cases of the juxtaposition of the three persons, the context must decide as to who is meant by *hālig gāst*. *Haliges gastes*, And. 1000 and 1621, evidently refers to man.

296. The Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, *bæm inc is gemæne / heahgast hleofast*, Cr. 357-8, showing the view held by the Western Church.⁴⁹ Regarding the work of creation it is said, *þa was wuldortorht / heofonweardes gast ofer holm boren*, Gen. 119-20, which may refer to the third person of the Trinity. The Holy Spirit is not seldom mentioned in the poems dealing with Old Testament history, so Ex. 96, leading the Children of Israel through the desert, Ph. 549, where Job speaks through *gastes blæd*, even as it is said of the disciples of Christ, *hæfdon gastes blæd*, Sat. 527. We have, *nu we geonge þry god bletsiað, / felameahtigne fæder in heofonum, / þone soðan sunu and þone sigefæstan gæst*, Az. 155-7, while in *Daniel* he is mentioned several times. In most of these cases the Old Testament דן is interpreted according to New Testament and Christian ideas.

297. Christ is born through Mary and *þurh þæne halgan gast*, Invocation 13, and it is stated, *Næs ðær gefremmed firen æt giftum, / ac þær hālig*

⁴⁸ For a discussion of the third person of the Trinity in OHG. see Raumer, p. 370 ff., in ON. Kahle, I, p. 386, II, 147-9.

⁴⁹ The *qui ex Patre Filioque procedit* of the Nicene Creed. The procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son has never been admitted into the Creed by the Eastern Church. The *Filioque* was probably first introduced by the Spanish Church as an additional protest against the Arian denial of the full Godhead of the Son, probably at the Council of Toledo 589. Compare Cook, *The Christ of Cynewulf*, p. 108.

gast handgyft sealde / þare fæmnan, Creed 17-19. The Holy Spirit is especially active in regard to the faithful, guarding and shielding them against enemies, and assisting them in the work of sanctification. Thus it is said after the conversion of Judas, *him was halig gast / befofen fæste*, El. 935-6, and concerning Elene herself, *þa wic beheold / halig heofonlic gast, hreðer weardode, / æðelne innoð*, 1143-5. Sins may compel him to leave, *þæt him halig gast / losige þurh leahtras on þas lænan tid*, Cr. 1558-9. We also have the petition, *Bewyrc us on heortan haligne gast / fæste on innan*, L. Prayer III, 79-80. In each case the indwelling of the Spirit is emphasized. He is the helper in trouble, *hyre (Juliana) was halig gast / singal gesið*, Jul. 241-2, *þæt þec halig gast gescilde*, Gu. 427-8. When Daniel is called upon to explain the dream of the Babylonian king, *him was gast geseald, / halig of heofonum, se his hyge trymede*, 533-4. Very often the Holy Spirit is the helper, shown by such phrases as *þurh gastes gife*, El. 199, 1057, 1156, similarly Jul. 316, Cr. 710, etc., and similar terms, though they may sometimes refer merely to the manifestation of the divine power and not to a personal agent. At the Last Judgment the Holy Spirit with the other members of the Trinity judges men, Jul. 726 ff., etc. Finally at the request of the Father *Ðonne halig gast helle beluceð*, Cr. 1624, and the persons of the Godhead dwell forever in Heaven, And. 1684-6.

298. In the New Testament the Holy Spirit is called a number of times *παράκλητος*, the comforter, which is taken over by the Vulgate as *paracletus*. In OE. poetry a translation, *frōfre gāst*, is used, as Jud. 83, And. 1684, *frōfregast*, Charm VIII, 10, similarly Jul. 724; *siððan frōfre gast / wic gewunode in þæs weres breostum / hylde to bote*, El. 1036-8. However, the term may also be applied to the Father, e.g., *fæder, frōfre gast*, El. 1105, as also to the Son, in *mec* (Mary) *frōfre gast / geardode*, Cr. 207-8, also And. 906. Guthlac's guardian angel is called *frōfre gāst* Gu. 107.

299. In general, it may be said that the qualities of the Father and the Son, in as far as they are not peculiarly specific characteristics, may also be applied to the Spirit, but are very sparingly used, as the third person of the Trinity occupies a far less prominent place in OE. poetry than either the Father or the Son. Here and there an adjective, as in *þone bliðan gāst*, Cr. 774, *þone sigefæstan gāst*, Az. 157, is found, but, comparatively speaking, the available material is meager.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WORLD, ANGELS, AND DEVILS

I. THE WORLD

300. The facts of Germanic mythology regarding the subject may be found in Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, I, p. 463 ff., III, 160 ff., and Golther, *Handbuch der Germanischen Mythologie*, p. 509 ff. The Scandinavians especially had developed detailed and fairly well-ordered views about the universe. The distinction between heaven and earth in a physical and to a limited extent also in the religious sense is easily made, appears in different religions, and needs no discussion here.

301. However, the contrast between Heaven and earth in the religious sense became more definite with the teachings of Christianity, and the lines between the temporal, sinful, and the heavenly were more sharply drawn. In Greek two words came to be used, *κόσμος* and *αἰών*, which the Vulgate renders by *mundus* and *saeculum*, the world as opposed to Heaven, and the *vita* or *aetas*. OHG. also uses two words, *mittilgart* rendering *mundus*, and *weralt* both *mundus* and *saeculum*. In ON. *heimr* came to be employed for both *mundus* and *saeculum*, while *veröld* was used only in the sense of *saeculum*.¹

302. In OE. two terms are also employed, *middangeard* and *woruld*. *Middangeard*, m., Goth. *midjungards*, OHG. *mittangart*, indicates the middle earth, the place situated between heaven and hell, and is practically always used in the physical sense. At times it also stands for mankind, as for instance in *þu þisne middangeard milde geblissa / þurh ðinne hercyme, hælende Crist*, Cr. 249, and *middangeardes weard*, Dan. 597.

303. More important for our purposes is *woruld*, f., from the Teut. type **wer-aldi*, the term also occurring in other Germanic dialects. So literally *woruld* means *hominum aetas*, the age of man. Used in a physical sense it stands for *mundus*, as, *nemdest eall swa þeah / mid ane noman ealle togæðre / woruld under wolcnum*, Met. XX, 57, and *þenden standeð / woruld under wolcnum*, Gen. 916. As an interesting occurrence of the term we also note, *sette and sende on VII worulde / earmum and eadigum eallum to bote*, Charm IV. 40, which Cockayne² explains as "the seven spheres in which the seven planets revolve, the earth being the center of observation." A number of times *woruld* is contrasted with Heaven,

¹ For OHG. compare Raumer, p. 373 ff., for ON. Kahle, I, 386 ff.

² *Leechdoms, Worcunning, and Starcraft of Early England*, (3 vols.) III, p. 37. Rolls Series, London, 1864-6.

standing in a religious and Biblical sense. Thus, *gewiton of worulde drea-man, sohton him wuldres cyning*, Rood B, 133, *þam þe his giefes willað / þigean to þonce and him þas woruld / uttor lætan þonne þæt ece lif*, Gu. 96, *sippan he þas woruld forhogde*, 713, (who would possess true happiness) *sceal swiðe flion / ðisse worulde wite*, Met. VII, 31, *þysse worulde (deriende) gefean* (*noxia gaudia saeculi*), Doom 232.

304. Not infrequently *woruld* is used in the sense of *saeculum*. Thus denoting worldly life we have, *gif hine gegripan mot / se eca deað æfter ðissum worulde*, Met. X, 70. In the meaning of *in saeculum*, *in saecula*, etc., may be noted, *a to worulde forð*, Cr. 101, similarly Met. XI, 17; *swa þu eart gewurðod a on worlða forð!* L. Prayer III, 123. We note further, *Si him lof symle, / þurh woruld worulda wuldor on heofnum*, Cr. 778, *wealdeð* (the Trinity) *in woruld worulda wuldorgestealda*, And. 1686, *on worulda woruld wunað and rixað* (*in secula seculorum*), Dox. 41, *on worulda woruld* (*in saecula saeculorum*), Ps. LXXXIII, 5, etc.

305. A large number of compounds occur, most of which, however, have no religious significance, and in other cases it is not readily apparent. We note only *woruldblis*, as in *þæt he his lichoman / wynna forwyrnde and woruldbliða*, Gu. 135, and *woruldsælð*, Met. II, 10, etc.

II. ANGELS

306. The Jewish-Christian doctrine of angels was foreign to the Germanic heathen mind, though there is reason to believe that the conception and the name were adopted at an early period by practically all the tribes. In the Old Testament an angel was called מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה or מַלְאָךְ, messenger of Jehovah, his function determining the designation. The LXX translates the Hebrew word by ἄγγελος, messenger, which is also employed by the New Testament. The term is taken over by Christian Latin as *angelus*, which is thus divorced from its general meaning of *nuntius*, and used in a restricted sense. At an early time the word was adopted by various Teutonic tribes either from Latin *angelus* or more likely from Gothic *aggilus*.³ In OE. it appears as *engel*, *ængel*, *angel*, m., OS. having *engil*, OFris. *angel*, *engel*, OHG. *angil*, *engil*. ON. *engill*.

307. In the poetry the term is of frequent occurrence, a translation such as *ār* or *boda* being seldom used.⁴ As in our discussion of the classes, attributes and kennings, as well as of the work of the angels, the word will occur a number of times, no examples need be cited here.

³ See Raumer, p. 378, Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, article *Teufel*; *Gotische Lehnworte*, p. 135, Pogatscher, pp. 203-5, also *NED*.

⁴ For a discussion of angels in OHG. see Raumer, pp. 378-9, in ON. Kahle, I, pp. 390-1, II, 149-51.

308. We are informed that there was a time when angels had not yet been created, *Næs ænig þa giet engel geworden / ne þæs miclan mægen-brymnes nan*, Cr. 351-2. The creation and the classes are referred to in *Hæfde se ealwalda engelcynna / . . . / tyne getrymede*, Gen. 246-8, though in the poetry not all of these classes appear. The race of angels is mentioned a number of times, as, *eal engla cynn*, Jul. 644, *anlicnes engelcynna*, And. 717, etc., *engla hades*, Prayer III, 34, *engla gebyrdo*, Gen. 583. A fondness to have angels appear in troops and hosts may also be noted.

309. As possibly distinct classes the Seraphim and Cherubim appear, though the usual order is inverted And. 719-20, *Cheruphim and Seraphim / þa on swegeldreamum syndon nemned*, referred to as *þæs breместan* of the angels 718. More specific details about the Cherubim are furnished El. 739-46, *þara on hade sint / in sindreame syx genemned, / þa ymbsealde synt mid syxum eac / fiðrum, gefrætwað, fægere scinap; / þara sint. IIII., þe on flihte a / þa þegnunge þrymme beweotigaþ / fore ansyne eces deman, / singallice singaþ . . . þam is Ceruphin nama*, 749. In the Psalms the name is simply taken over, *Ðu ðe sylfa nu sittest ofer cherubin (qui sedes super cherubin)*, LXXIX, 2, and *sitteð ofer cherubin (qui sedet super cherubim)*, XCVIII, 1. Aside from And. 719, the Seraphim are mentioned thrice, as, *Syndon tu on þam, / sigorcynn on swegle, þe man Seraphin / be naman hateð. He sceal neorxnawang and lifes treo legene sweorde / halig healdan*,⁵ El. 753-7, and *wuldre gewulitegod Seraphin*, Charm VII, 30. In Cr. 386-8 the Seraphim are performing the services assigned to the Cherubim in *Elene*, for we are told, *soðfæste Seraphinnes cynn / uppe mid englum a bremende / unapreotendum brymmum singað*.

310. The archangels, especially Gabriel, are mentioned a few times. He is called *godes ærendraca*, Cr. 12, a term also applied to the apostles, *godes spelboda, Gabriel*, Cr. 366, and *his hæahbodan*, 295. His qualities are mentioned, *Eala Gabrihell hu þu eart gleaw and sceaþp, / milde and gemyndig and monþwære, / wis on þinum gewitte and on þinum worde snottor*, Har. 76-8. *Heofones heagengel*, Cr. 202, and *heahengel*, Men. 50, are also applied to Gabriel. The same designation is used for Michael, *heahengles tiid on hærfeste, / Michahelis*, Men. 177. *Halig is se halga heahengla god*, the Cherubim sing El. 750, the song of the Seraphim being *Halig eart þu halig heahengla brego*, Cr. 403. We note further, *heahengla cyning*, Cr. 528, and *heahengla mægen*, 1019, *heahenglas*, Sat. 601. Though the term *hæahengel* is the designation for the archangels, it need not be assumed, however, that it is not used in a wider sense, though And. 883-5 may not be conclusive, *twelfe getealde, tireadige hæleð; / . . . / halige heahenglas*. It

⁵ The Vulgate has *et collocavit ante paradisum voluptatis Cherubim*. In our passage a Seraph performs the duty. The plural form in the Vulgate might easily be mistaken by an Anglo-Saxon poet. *Genesis* especially is rich in amusing blunders. Compare *Bibl. II*, p. 169.

might even be used, in accordance with the spirit of OE. poetry, as a general indication of their place of abode. *Ūpengel* seems to have this meaning, as in *upengla fruma eðel secan*, And. 226, and *upengla weard*, 210. Very similar are *ufancundes engles*, Gu. 1097, *engel ufancundne*, 1216, also *aras ufancunde*, Cr. 503. Probably not very different is *heofonengel*, which we have in *heofonengla þreat*, Cr. 492, 928, *heofonengla cyning*, 1010, L. Prayer III, 13, while we read *heofonengla god* Jul. 642 and *heofonengla here* Cr. 1278.

311. Among the qualities of angels a few ascribed to Gabriel have already been mentioned. However, the wisdom of the angelic host is not unlimited, as it is remarked, *ne þæt ænig ne wat engla hades / þa heahnisne heofena kyninges*, Prayer III, 34-5. Their brightness is often referred to, as, *engel albeorht . . . / wlitescyne wer on his wuldorhaman*, Dan. 337-8, *albeorhte englas*, Cr. 506, 548, with the word order changed 881, *albeorhttra scolu*, Cr. 929, *weorud wlitescyne*, 493, *beorhte gewerede*, 552, *hwit and heofonbeorht heagengla mægen*, 1019, *albeorhte . . . / heofonengla here*, 1277-8, *wlitescyne on weres hade*, / *hwit and hiwbeorht*, El. 72-3, *æðelestan engelcynne*, / *þe geond lyft farað leohte bewundene / mycle mægenþrymme*, 732-4, *mið þa leotian gedryht*, 736, *cwom engel godes / frætwum blican*, Jul. 563-4, etc.

312. Other characteristics occur, of which we mention the most important, though they are often applied indirectly. *Halig engel*, Gen. 946, *halige heahenglas*, And. 885, *sio halge gecynd*, Cr. 1018, etc., *eadiges engles*, Sal. 450, *eadig engla gedryht*, Cr. 1014, *mihlig engel*, Ex. 205, *sigorfast (þegn)*, Gu. 1218, *þegnas prymfaste*, Gen. 15, *englas arfaste*, 2525, *þæt soðfaste Seraphinnes cynn*, Cr. 386, *wlitig wuldres boda*, El. 77, *fæle* (used with *freoðuweard* and similar terms), El. 88, Gen. 2301, 2497, Gu. 144, *mærne mæguþegn*, And. 366, *dædhwate*, Cr. 385, *stiðferðe*, And. 722.

313. The only adjective formed with *engel* is *engelcund*, angelic, found once, *him giefte sealde / engelcunde*, Gu. 72.

314. Not infrequently the term *gæst*, generally modified, is applied to the angels, undoubtedly influenced by Ps. CIII, 5, where the Vulgate reading *qui facis angelos tuos spiritus et ministros tuos ignem urentem* is rendered by *He his englas deð æðele gastas and his frome ðegnas fyr byrnende*. Thus we have, *gast þone halgan*, Dan. 237, *hwæt seo hand write haliges gastas*, 733, *gæst haligne*, Gu. 1215, *halige gastas*, Rood B, 11, Gen. 2399; *wuldorgast godes*, Gen. 2912, *godes ærendgast*, 2296.

315. Of other kennings for angels the most important may find a place here.⁶ *Godes ærendraca* as applied to Gabriel in Creed 12 has already been

⁶ Bode, *Kenningar*, gives a few. See also Rankin, IX, pp. 60-61.

mentioned. Used of the angels visiting Lot we have *nergendes / æðele ærendracan*, Gen. 2433-4. *Ār*, messenger, occurs a number of times, so El. 76, 87, *aras*, Cr. 759, Gen. 2424, *halige aras*, 2456, *wuldres aras*, Cr. 493, El. 737, *aras ufancunde*, Cr. 503. *Boda*, messenger, is also used. Thus, *bodan*, Cr. 449, *wlitig wuldres boda*, El. 77. Of compounds we have for instance *godes spelboda Gabriel*, Cr. 336, *frome wæron / godes spelbodan*, Gen. 2494, *wuldres wilboda*, Gu. 1220. A peaceful mission is indicated by *fæle friðowebba*, El. 88, *fæle freoðuweard*, Gu. 144, *fæle freoðoscealc*, Gen. 2301, the plural being found 2497. Among terms showing peculiar relationships to God we note, *þegnas þrymfæste*, Gen. 15, *wuldres þegn*, Gen. 2266, similarly 2568, And. 726; *metodes ðegn*, Gen. 2907, similarly Gu. 1217; *hehþegn*, Dan. 443, *mærne maguþegn*, And. 366; *ymb þæt heksell hwite standað / engla feðan*, Sat. 221, *halge herefeðan*, Cr. 1013.

316. From the previous discussion it will be gathered that the important function of the heavenly spirits is the worship of the Deity and the carrying out of his commandments. The protection of the faithful against enemies, especially evil spirits, is often mentioned. Instead of the rather frequent examples we cite Charm VIII, 19-25, where, after the invocation of the saints, the poet continues, *eac ðusend þira engla / clipige ic me to are wið eallum feondum. / Hi me ferion and friþion and mine fore nerion, / eal me gehealdon, me gewealdon / worces stirende, si me wuldres hyht / hand ofer heafod, haligra rof, / sigerofra sceote, soðfæstra engla*. The idea of the guardian angel is especially noteworthy in *Guthlac*. We are told that the heavenly spirits protect the saints, *fore him englas standað / gearwe mid gæsta wæpnum . . . / healdað haligra feorh*, 59-61. It is said, 81-4, that God sent a particular angel in order to dampen the lusts of the saint-to-be. The good and the evil angel engage in warfare for his soul, *hinetwegen ymb / weardas wacedon, þa gewinn drugon, / engel dryhtnes and se atela gæst*, 85-7. The good angel wins, and henceforth *Guthlac* is protected, *Hine weard biheold / halig of heofonum, se þæt hluttre mod / in þæs gæstes god georne trymede*, 76-8, and *sip þam frofre gæst / in Guðlaces geoce gewunade*, 107-8. Several times the guardian angel is mentioned, of whom the saint says, *þæt me engel to ealle gelædeð / spowende sped spreca and dæda*, 224-5, and *nu mec sawelcund / hyrde bihealdeð*, 288-9. This protection extends until the time of death, when *wæs Guðlaces gæst gelæded / engla fæðmum in uprodor / fore onsyne eces deman*, 753-5, and *wæs Guðlaces gæst gelæded / eadig on upweg, englas feredun / to þam longan gefean*, 1279-81, which is in line with the general belief as expressed in *englas feredon / soðfæste sawle innan swegles leoht*, Chr. V, 27-8. In *Salomon and Saturn* the good angel loses in the contest, and *Gewiteð ðonne wepende on weg faran / engel to his earde and ðæt eall sagað: / "Ne meahste ic of ðære heortan heardne aþringan / stylenne stan, sticað him to middes ****."*

III. DEVILS

317. As the foe of God and the heavenly kingdom the devil with his adherents plays a very prominent part in OE. poetry. In the Old Testament the chief of the evil spirits is called יָדֹנִי , adversary. The LXX as a rule renders this by $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, slanderer, a term also employed by the New Testament, though $\delta\ \sigma\alpha\tau\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ is sometimes used. The Greek $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ as a translation of Hebrew יָדֹנִי was regularly retained by the Old Latin version of the Scriptures as *diabolus*, but Jerome in his version, the Vulgate, substituted *Satan*. In his New Testament *diabolus* also occurs. Gothic adopts the Greek $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ as *diabaúlus* or *diabulus*, and it is not improbable that other Germanic tribes received the word from this source.⁷ The OE. form is *dēofol*, *dēoful*, mn., OFris. *diovel*, OS. *diubul* with variants, OHG. *tiuval*, etc., ON. *djofull*.

318. As has been indicated, *dēoful* is extremely common in OE. poetry, examples of which will occur in the subsequent discussion. For the chief of the fallen angels the Latin *Sātan*, *Sātanus*, and *Lucifer* are found a few times. Regarding the fallen angels God decided among other things, *se hehsta hatan sceolde / Satan siððan*, Gen. 344-5. The term is also met with Gen. 347, And. 1689, Sat. 712, etc. *Sātanus* occurs for instance Sat. 371, 447, 692, etc. *Lucifer* (*leohtberende*) is found once, Sat. 367. We are told that before the fall the chief devil was *engla weard*, Gen. 22, *þe ær wæs engla scynost*, / *hwittost on heofnon*, 338-9, *gelic wæs he þam leohtum steorrum*, 256, and he himself says, *Ic wæs iu in heofnum halig ængel . . .* Sat. 81. But he has become *se ofermoda cyning*, Gen. 338, who rebelled against God *for oferhygde*, 22, and with his adherents was cast down into hell, *þær he to deofle wearð*, 305, while *heo* (namely the rebellious angels) *ealle forsceop / drihten to deoflum*, 308-9. In different poems, such as *Genesis*, *Elene*, *Christ and Satan*, etc., the circumstances of the fall are recounted with more or less detail.

319. The devil with the evil spirits becomes the enemy of God and man. The term *fēond*, the hating and hostile one, sometimes modified, but often alone, is frequently used synonymously with *dēofol*. We note, *feond*, Sal. 69, 91, 100, Gu. 107, etc., *feond moncynnes*, Jul. 317, 523, 630, *sawla feond*, 348, *ece feond*, Gen. 1261, *flah feond gemah*, Whale 39, *se ealda feond*, Panther 58, El. 207, *eald feondes æfest*, Ph. 401, *ealdfeondes / scyldigra scolu*, Gu. 174-5, *ealdfind* (pl.), Har. 89, *ealdfeondas*, Gu. 189, *ealdfeonda nan*, Ph. 449, *ealdfeonda nið*, Gu. 112, etc., etc. We note also *fēondætes*, Ps. CV, 24, referring to the eating of sacrificial offerings, and *fēondgyld*

⁷ Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, article *Teufel*; *Lehnworte*, pp. 134-5. The *NED.*, after having mentioned that the Gothic word is directly from Greek, continues, "the forms in the other Teutonic langs. were partly at least from Latin, and prob. adopted more or less independently of each other."

gebræc, in the same verse. The terms apply to the subordinates, characterized Sat. 104-5, *feond seondon reðe*, / *dimme and deorce*, as well as to the chief, who is *feonda aldor*, Sat. 76. He is also *godes andsaca*, Sat. 191, etc., a phrase also used for the other devils, so for instance in *godes andsacan*, Sat. 719, Gu. 204, *earme andsacan*, 181, etc., etc.

320. The activities of the devils in seducing man are described in a number of places, a subject to be discussed in the next chapter. The chief with the evil spirits is the cause of sin, the following terms for instance being applied to Satan, *yfles ordfruma*, Sat. 374, *facnes frumbearn*, Gu. 1044, And. 1294, *morbres brytta*, And. 1170, *morðres manfrea*, And. 1313, similarly Jul. 546; *ealre synne fruma*, El. 771, *synna fruman*, Jul. 362, *leahtra fruman*, El. 838. To these we add others, which are only partly ascribed to the chief, in some cases there being doubt as to whether Satan or a subordinate spirit is meant. *Fyrnsynna fruman*, Jul. 347, *morðres manfrea*, El. 941, And. 1313, *synna bryttan*, El. 957, *synna hyrdas*, Gu. 522, *synna weardas*, Judg. 16. It should be noted that for instance Abimelech is called *synna brytta* Gen. 2641. Though it is said of *Wyrð*, Sal. 443, *eallra fyrena fruma*, *fæhðo modor*, and 445, *frumscylda gehwæs fæder and modor*, we must identify *Wyrð* in these passages with the fallen angel, a case not isolated in OE. poetry.

321. The relation between devils and hell is naturally very close. The chief is *hellwarena cyning*, Jul. 322, 437, etc., *his gingran*, Sat. 191, being *helle scealcas*, 133. The seducer of Eve is called *handþegen helle*, Sat. 485. Among other terms encountered we note, *helledeofol*, El. 900, *helle dioful*, And. 1298, *helle deofol*, Jul. 629, etc., *helle hæftling*, Jul. 246, And. 1342, a term comparatively frequent; *þystra stihlend*, Jul. 419, *þeostra þegnas*, Gu. 668, *helleþegna*, 1042, *hellsceaða*, Gen. 694, etc., *hellehinca*, And. 1171.

322. The devils were looked upon as spirits, capable, however, of assuming the form of angel, man, or animal, as exemplified in such poems as *Salomon and Saturn*, *Juliana*, *Guthlac*, etc. In giving a few examples of designations, we have selected such as illustrate to some extent at least qualities ascribed to the evil spirits. *Hean hellegæst*, Jul. 457, 615, *se atola gæst*, And. 1296, *se atela gæst*, Gu. 87, *se werega gæst*, Sat. 126, *se werga gæst*, Gu. 422, *þa werigan gastas*, Sat. 731, *earme gastas*, Gu. 490, etc., *atole gastas*, / *swarte and synfulle*, Sat. 51-2, *se swearta gæst*, Cr. 269, *blac bealowes gæst*, Sat. 721, *unclæne gæst*, Jul. 418, *geomre gastas*, Gen. 69, *ðone laðan gæst*, Sal. 86.

323. Of the many other kennings for devils encountered in the poetry, we note the more important.⁸ *Wrað wærloga*, And. 1297, *wærlogan*, Gu.

⁸ Compare Bode, *Kenningar*, p. 76 ff., Rankin, IX, p. 56 ff.

269, 595, etc., etc., *awyrge wærlagan on wyrmes bleo*, 883, *wæleas werod*, Gen. 67, *wiðerbrecan*, 64, *wuldres wiðerbreca*, Jul. 269, *wrohtes wyrhtan*, 346, *wrohtbora*, Cr. 763, *wrohtsmiðas*, Gu. 877, *teonsmiðas*, 176, *wræcca wæleas*, Jul. 351, *se wræcmæcga*, 260, *wræcmæcgas*, Gu. 234, *wraðe wræcmæcgas*, 530, etc., *sawla gewinnan*, Jul. 555, *Hæleða gewinna*, 243, similarly 345; *gleaw gyrnstafa gæstgeniðla*, 245, *brægdwis bona*, Gu. 58, *banan mancynnes*, And. 1293, *feorgbona*, Whale 41, *swarte suslbonan*, Sat. 640, *se aglæca*, Jul. 268, 319, *earm aglæca*, 430, *eatol æclæca yfela gemyndig*, El. 901, *se awyrgda*, Sat. 316, Whale 67, *awyrgda*, Sat. 676, 691, 699, *deoflum* . . ., / *awyrgedum gastum* (*daemonibus dudum fuerantque parata malignis*, 91), Doom 182-3.

324. To these may be added *fah wyrm*, the seducer of Eve, Gen. 899, who eats of the fruit *wyrmes larum*, Gu. 818. In the same connection occur also *me nædre beswac*, Gen. 897, and *þurh nædran niþ*, Ph. 413. Probably applied in a wider sense, the devil is called *draca egeslice*, Sal. 26, while *butan dracan anum / attres ordfruman*, Panther 57-8, seems to point to the chief. He is also called *se awyrgda wulf*, Cr. 256, *deor dædscua*, 257. The Anglo-Saxon poet did not hesitate to apply to the evil one the strongest epithets of which the language was capable.

325. The OE. *dēofol* is wider in its application than the Greek *διάβολος*. It may thus be applied to the *δαίμονια* or *δαίμονες* of the LXX and the New Testament, which identify them with Satan and his emissaries. We have seen in 323 that *deoflum* . . ., / *awyrgedum gastum*, Doom 182-3, renders *daemonibus malignis*. Among Christ's activities are mentioned *fram unclænum oft generede / deofla gastum*, El. 301-2. The term is also applied to heathen idols, who are looked upon as devils. Thus *Quoniam omnes dii gentium daemonia*, Ps. XCV, 4, is rendered by *Syndon ealle hæpenu godu hildedeoful*, the worship of heathen divinities being equivalent to devil worship. The idols of Egypt are called *dēofolgyld*, Ex. 47. The interchanging of the terms may be seen very clearly in *Juliana*. *Hofon hæpengield*, occurs line 15, it being remarked of Helisius, *Oft he hæpengield / ofer word godes weoh gesohte*, 22-3, while he is informed by Juliana of her refusal to marry him, *gif þu to sāmran gode / þurh deofolgyld dæde beþencest*, / *hætst hæpenweoh*, 51-3. Her father is concerned about her attitude and her "foolish talk," *þa þu goda ussa gield forhogdest*, 146, but to his threats she replies, *Næfre þu gelærest*, *þæt ic leasingum / dumbum and deafum deofolgyldum / gæsta geniðlum gaful anhate*, 149-51. *Diofolgild*, / *ealde eolhstedas anforlatan*, is said of the Mermedonians And. 1641-2, while *se halga* (Andrew) *herigeas breade*, / *deofulgild todraf*, 1687-8. A turning towards strange gods is evidently referred to Dan. 32, where it is said of the Israelites, *curon deofles cræft*. The magicians of the Babylonians are styled *deofolwitgan*, line 128. In *Elene* the Jewish religion is practically

identified with devil worship. Cyriacus has chosen the better thing, *wuldres wynne and þam wyrstan wiðsoc, / deofulgildum and gedwolan fylde, / unrihte æ*, 1039-41.

326. As indicated before, *wih*, m., is used in the sense of idol, *þæt hie bæs wiges wihste ne rohton*, Dan. 201, *ne þysne wig wurðigean*, 208, (*ne wolde*) *wig weorðian*, Ap. 48, *Woden worhte weos*, Gn. Ex. 133. *Gyld*, n., idol, *gyld of golde guman arærde*, Dan. 175, *to þam gyldnan gylde*, 204, *gif þu onsecgan nelt soþum giældum*, Jul. 174; in the sense of heathen worship, *þa þu goda ussa gield forhogdest*, 146. It is also used in a non-heathen sense, (Abraham) *his waldende / on þam glædstede gild onsægde / lac geneahe*, Gen. 2842. The interesting compound *wihgyld*, idol, may be mentioned here, *wurðedon* (Babylonians) *wihgyld*, Dan. 182. We note further, *Hwilum hie geheton æt hærgtrafum / wigweorbunga*, Beow. 176, and *buton þu forlæte þa leasinga / weohweorðinga*, Jul. 180. The verb *gyldan*, to sacrifice, in the heathen sense, we have Dan. 212, similarly Ps. CV, 26.

327. As pointed out in 7, the connection between heathen and devil is very close, the devil himself for instance being called a heathen Jul. 536. It should also be noticed that the characteristics of the devil may be ascribed to other beings, or they themselves may be called by this very name. So Grendel is referred to as *feond in helle*, Beow. 101, *mancynnes feond*, 1276, *hellegast*, 1274, *godes andsaca*, 1682, while *æfter deofla hryre*, 1680, refers to Grendel and his mother. Similar designations might be added. Epithets generally applied to the devil may also be given to men. So the Babylonians are called *ge deoflu*, Dan. 750, the Jews *werge wræc-mæccgas*, El. 387, while the Mermedonians are styled *wærlogan*, And. 71, 108, etc., *werigum wrohtsmiðum*, 86, *mangeniðlan, / grame grynsmiðas*, 916-17. The relation is very close in *deofles þegnas* And. 43 (compare *Satanes ðegn*, Sal. 117, and similar terms). Cr. 896 and 899 the damned are called devils, the blessed being referred to as angels. An evil man is characterized as *feondes bearn / flæsce bifongen*, Moods 47-8.

328. The compounds of *dēofol* are few. Aside from *helledēofol* and *hildedēofol*, we have once the poetic *dēofolcund*, diabolical, applied to Holofernes, Jud. 61, and once also the poetic *dēofoldæd*, Dan. 18, where it is said of the Israelites, *hie wlenco anwod æt winþege / deofoldædum, druncne geðohtas*. *Dēofolgild*, in the sense of *idolum*, *simulacrum*, and *idolatria* has already been mentioned; as also the poetical *dēofolwūgan*, Dan. 128. *Scucca*, seducer, as also similar designations, will be found in the treatment of temptation, chapter IX, 370.

CHAPTER IX

SIN

329. The New Testament furnishes in 1 John 3, 4, ἡ ἀμαρτία ἐστὶν ἡ ἀνομία, a definition of sin, where its essence is conceived of as the deviation from the law of God or the transgression of such divine law. In spite of assertions to the contrary,¹ there can be no doubt that many heathen peoples have a fairly clear conception of good and evil in their general aspects. However, it should be pointed out that according to the Christian belief every transgression constitutes an offense against the holy God, and in this consists the gravity of the act. It is a fundamental principle foreign to heathenism.

I. GENERAL TERMS

330. The Greek ἀμαρτία is rendered in Latin by *peccatum*, the verb ἀμαρτάνειν by *peccare*. In OE. *syn(n)*, f., from original **sunjo*, is used to express the idea, related to OFris. *sende*, OS. *sundea*, OHG. *sunia*, ON. *synð*, the stem being perhaps identical with L. *sons*, guilty.² The OE. word, which renders not only L. *peccatum*, but also *culpa*,³ is of frequent occurrence in OE. poetry, so that a few examples will suffice here, *besmiten mid synne sawldreore*, Gen. 1520, *þære sawle, þe biþ synna ful*, Seaf. 100, *synna wunde*, Cr. 1314, *synna lease*, Jul. 188, *mine saule synnum forwundod*, Prayer I, 3, etc., etc.

331. A number of compounds occur, of which may be noted *synbyrðen*, once, Cr. 1300, *syndæd*, dat. pl. Ps. CVI, 33 (*a malitia*), *synfāh*, as, *synfa men*, Cr. 1083, *synfull*, guilty, fairly frequent, so in the pl. And. 764 applied to the elders of Israel, and Gu. 646 to the devils, etc., *synlēasig*, Beow. 2227, *synlice*, Cr. 1480, Ps. LXII, 8, *synlust*, Cr. 269, *synnig*, used frequently, of the devil, El. 955, the plural being applied to the Jews, And. 565, etc. We have further *synrūst*⁴ in *synrust þwean*, Cr. 1321, *synsceaða*, a few

¹ Lingard, in Vol. I, p. 42, of his *History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, in speaking of the "pagan Saxons," says: "In their theology they acknowledged no sin but cowardice, and revered no virtue but courage." He seems to be very anxious to make the contrast between the heathen and the christianized Anglo-Saxons as great as possible, in order that the "mild influence of the gospel" may make a deep impression upon the mind of the reader.

² Compare *NED.*, also Kahle, I, p. 396. For the chapter on Sin compare Raumer, p. 384 ff., Kahle, I, 395 ff., II, 151-2.

³ Once the poetic *culpa* or *culpe* occurs, *ne ic culpan in þe (onfunde)*, Cr. 177.

⁴ Compare Cook's note on *synrūst* in *Mod. L. Notes*, IV, p. 129. Though it would seem that Cynewulf coined certain compounds with *syn*, *synbyrðen* and *synlust* must be stricken from Cook's list, as they occur also elsewhere.

times, as, Jul. 671, Cr. 706, etc., the term being used of devils and sinful men alike, *synscyldig* in the gen. pl., Doom 168 (*scelerum*, 83), where it is applied to the damned in hell, *synwracu*, vengeance for sin, rare, occurring Cr. 794, 1540, and Gu. 832, *synwund*, once, Cr. 757, *synwyrceud*, being applied to the devil El. 943, to the Jews 395, and used in a more general way in *æghwylcum* / *synwyrceudra*, Cr. 842. The gen. pl. we find Ps. LXXXI, 2 (*peccatorum*), and *synwyrceude* CXL, 11 (*operantium iniquitatem*). The verb is *syngian*, *gesyngian*, which occurs a number of times, as, *syngige*, Prayer III, 42, *syngode* (*peccavi*), Ps. L. 47, further, *we gesyngodon* (the devils), Sat. 230, *fyrenum gesyngad*, Beow. 2441, *swiðe gesingod*, L. Prayer III, 115.

332. A term much employed is *mān*, ON. *mein*, crime, wickedness, etc. Of the occurrences we cite, *man eft gehwearf*, / *yfel endeleas*, And. 694, *man and morðor, misdæda worn* (referring to Nero), Met. IX, 7, *mana fela*, Prayer IV, 50, *of mane* (*ex iniquitate*), Ps. LXXI, 14, etc., etc. The adjective is used a few times, *mane aðas*, perjury, Met. IV, 48, and *man inwitstæf* (*nequitiae*), Ps. LIV, 15. A number of compounds are also encountered, but most of them need no discussion here. The poetic terms will be found in the table at the end, while a few, such as *mānsceat*, usury, and *mānswara*, perjury, will appear in the subsequent discussion.

333. *Firen*, glossed by Grein as *scelus*, *crimen*, *peccatum*, is very common. We note, *wraþe firene*, Cr. 1313, *deopra firena*, Gu. 830, 835, *ne wom dyde* / *his lichoma leahtra firena*, Cr. 1099. The last example, referring to Christ, shows a massing of similar words in order to emphasize the idea, a procedure often employed in OE. poetry. As in the case of *syn* and *mān*, a number of compounds occur, of which may be noted as significant *dēaðfiren*, mortal sin, in *deaðfirenum forðen*, Cr. 1207, *helfiren*, mortal sin, *ge hellfirena* / *sweartra geswicað*, Partridge 6, each of the terms occurring once. Of other compounds we have *firencræft*, wickedness, Jul. 14, *firengeorn*, prone to sin, as in *firengeorne men* (damned), Cr. 1606, *firenlust*, occurring a number of times, e.g. *firenlustas*, Gu. 775, *þurh firenlustas fule synne*, Cr. 1483, *fyrnenlustum*, Doom 160, etc., *firensynnig*, in *firensynnig folc*, Cr. 1379. The verb *fyrnian* is found once, *þa forworhtan* (damned), *þa ðe fyrnedon*, Sat. 620, while *fyrngende flæsc* occurs Doom 214. *Gefyrnian* is met with in *We gefyrnedan* (*peccavimus*), Ps. CV, 6.

334. *Leahtor*, m., vice, crime, etc., used in about the same sense as *mān*, *firen*, is found frequently. *Lices leahtor*, Gu. 1045, *leahtrum fa* (devils), Cr. 1539, *leahtrum scyldige*, And. 1216, *leahtra gehygdū*, Cr. 1315. Of the three compounds *leahtorlēas* belongs here. Thus, *leahtorlease*, Gu. 1060, El. 1208. Often the fusion has not taken place, as for instance in *ealra leahtra leas* (Adam in Paradise), Gu. 804, similarly 920, 1162, etc. *Leahtorcwide* is also encountered, *after leahtorcwidum*, Jul. 199, signifying



blasphemy of heathen gods, being on a plane with *torne teoncwīde*, *þe þu tælnissum*, 205, of which Helisius speaks as *þære grimmetan godscyld*, 204.

335. *Wom*, mn., stain, spot, defilement, disgrace, as also in a more general sense, is common. We note, *wommas worda and dæda*, Instructions 79, *þeah hi wom don / ofer meotudes bibod*, 70, *wommes tacen*, Cr. 54, (*ne mæg hate dæl forbærnan*) *wom of þære sawle*, 1544, *forwunded mid wommum*, Rood B, 14, *Aðhweah me of sennum saule fram wammum* (*ab iniquitate*), Ps. L. 38. The adjective is also used, (*be*) *wommum wyrhtum* (*secundum peccata*), Ps. CII 10. The interesting compound *mānwom* is found, *manwomma gehwone* (may be seen on the souls of the damned), Cr. 1280. Of others occur *wamcwīde*, *wamdæd*, *wamful*, *wamsceaða*, *wamscyldig*, and *wamwyrcende*, either once or only a few times, but no comment would seem necessary.

336. Another term of general import used in the poetry is *gyllt*, m., guilt, sin, offense, from Teut. **gultiz*. We note, *Forgyf us, gumena weard*, *gylltas and synna / and ure leahtras alet* (*debita*), L. Prayer II, 19, *ma fremede / grimra gyllta*, Prayer IV, 27, (*owiht*) *heanra gyllta* (*quidquam culpae*, 19), Doom 39, *aglidene gylltas modgod gode gehælan* (*qui solet allisos sanare*, 24),⁵ 47, *hu mære is / seo soðe hreo̅w synna and gyllta* (*peccati quantum valeat confessio vera*, 28), 56, *henða and gylltas* (*crimina*, 45), 88, *þurh forman gyllt*, Gen. 998, *sie minra gyllta / . . . / gemyndig*, El. 816. Further examples are, *gylltum forgiefene*, Gu. 432, *fram synnum . . . / and fram misdædum minra gyllta* (*a peccatis*), Ps. L. 84, *gelltas geclansa* (*a peccato*), 39, *gyllta geclansa*(-), 112, *na ðu ure gylltas egsan gewræce* (*peccata*), Ps. LXXXIV, 3, *gylltas georne gode andhette*, Ps. L. 29. The verb *āgylltan* is comparatively rare. We note, *þam þe wið us oft agylltað*, L. Prayer II, 24, *we agyllt habbað*, III, 114, *ic agylte* (*deliqui*), Ps. CXVIII, 67.

337. *Scyld*, f., fault, offense, crime, is used a number of times. We note, *þæt is Euan scyld eal forþynde*, Cr. 97, *on eow scyld sitteð* (Guthlac to devils), Gu. 449, *þe ða scylde worhton*, Dan. 266, *þe wæron butan scylde swa earmlice acwealde*, Chr. IV, 15, *me modor gebær / in scame and in sceldum* (*in peccatis concepit me mater mea*), Ps. L. 63, etc. Of compounds may be mentioned *frumscyld*, Sal. 445, *wyrd* (devil) being spoken of as *frumscylda gehwæs fæder and modor*, also *godscyld*, crime against heathen gods, Jul. 204, *mānscyld*, under *mān*, *scyldfrecu*, wicked craving, Gen. 898, *scyldful*, occurring a few times, so El. 310, etc., *scyldwrecende*, as, *Hell eac ongeat / scyldwrecende* (sin-avenging hell), Cr. 1161, *scyldwyrcende*, Cr. 1487, Ph. O 2, Jul. 445, El. 761.

338. To these terms others of a general nature might be added. So *unþeaw*, m., used especially in *Meters*, as, *þa unþeawas*, XXII, 26, *þa*

⁵ Is *gylltas* a gloss for *aglidene*, or should one translate, past sins? Compare note in *Bibl. II.* p. 252.



unþeawas ælces modes, XXVI, 117, *his unþeawas ealle hatian*, XXII, 32. The specific meaning of *unþeaw* depends upon its modifiers or the context, for while in *modes unþeaw*, Met. XXVI, 112, and similarly 117, the mind is referred to, the passage *þa unþeawas ealle*, Exhortation 41, has a decidedly carnal flavor. *Fæcen*, n., with its various compounds, is used frequently, as also *unriht* in the sense of *iniquitas* and *injustitia*, furthermore *uncyst*, vice, and similar terms, which we pass over.

339. In entering now upon a discussion of specific sins, the material at hand makes it advisable to follow St. Augustine's division of *Peccata Operis*, *Oris*, and *Cordis*. This plan has been followed by Kahle, I, and what he says there⁶ in regard to the difficulties in carrying it out strictly applies with equal force to OE. poetry, and the solution adopted by him has been found advantageous also in our case.

II. PECCATA OPERIS

340. Under this heading carnal sins, or sins of the flesh, may conveniently be treated first, certain others following. The Latin *caro* as the seat of sinful lusts and desires is rendered in OE. by *flæsc*, n., as Doom 175(87); *fyrngende flæsc*, 214, translates *caro luxurians*, 107. Its use may be further illustrated, *þurh flæsc and fyrenlustas* / *strange gestryned*, Soul 44. Often *lust*, m., either alone or modified, expresses carnal sin. In the example just quoted from *Soul* we have *fyrenlustas*, 44, in the same sense, *me fyrenlustas* / *þine geþrungon*, 34, possibly also in *þu þæt selegescot*, *þæt ic me swæs on þe* / *gehalgode hus to wynne*, / *þurh fyrenlustas fule synne* / *unsyfre besmíte*, Cr. 1483, and *synlustas*, Exhortation 53. But frequently the meaning is more general, though sometimes there may be doubt as to the exact rendering, as, *lices lustas*, Jul. 409, *leaslice lices wynne*, / *earges flæschoman idelne lust*, Cr. 1298, compared with *lices leahlor*, Gu. 1045. In this general sense the term is used, *þurh synlust*, Cr. 269, *þurh firena lust*, 369, *idle lustas* / *synwunde*, 756, probably also in *synna lustas*, Gu. 84, *ic him geswete synna lustas*, Jul. 369, *hi fyrenlusta frece ne wæron*, Met. VIII, 15.

341. *Gælsa* generally translates Latin *luxus*, *luxuria*. Thus we note, *his gemyndum modes gælsan*, Moods 11, *manigfealde modes gælsan*, Jul. 366, *þæs gælsan* (*luxuriae*, 89), Doom 179, also line 237, where *ælc gælsa* / . . . *scyldig* renders *scelerata libido*, 119. A word closely related is *gālnes*, wantonness, lust, occurring once, *her glæd leofast on gālnysse* (*servire libidine gaudes*, 88), Doom 178. Two adjectives formed with *gāl-* may also be noted here, *gālferhð*, Jud. 62, and *gālmōd*, 256, both referring to the lustful Holofernes.

342. *Wrænnes*, wantonness, renders *jocus*, 118, Doom 235, while we find *weaxeð* / *þære wrænnesse wodðrag micel* Met. XXV, 41.

⁶P. 398.

343. *Hefignes* is encountered a few times in *Meters*, *þæs lichoman leahtras and hefignes*, XXII, 25, 29, *mid hefnesse his lichoman*, 63.

344. The unclean lusts and desires lead to various sins, some of which have physical causes. Gluttony must be mentioned here. *þa oferfyllle* we find Exhortation 75, the subject having been discussed before, *Warna þe georne wið þære wambe fyllle*, 40, with its dire effects, *forþan heo þa unþeo-was ealle gesomnað, / þe þære saule swiðost deriað, / þæt is druncennes and dyrne geligere*, 41-3, to which is added *ungemet wilnung ates and slæpes*, 44. Curiously enough, the author mentions not only that one may drive them away *mid fastenum / and forhæfdnessum*, 45-6, but also *mid cyricsocnum cealdum wederum*, 47. *Druncennes* we find Exhortation 43, *druncen*, f., occurs in *Druncen beorg þe*, Instructions 34, *þu scealt druncen fleon*, Exhortation 74.

345. *Dyrne geligere*, n., was pointed out Exhortation 43 as one of the results of gluttony. Illicit intercourse, fornication, or adultery, are mentioned several times in the poetry, the particular term used in each case being very expressive. From *forlicgan* we have *lease and forlegene*, Cr. 1611, the verb also being employed, *gif se lichoma forlegen weorðeð / unriht-hæmede*, Met. XVIII, 9. Besides *unriht-hæmed*, n., occurring in the passage just quoted, the word in the sense of adultery or fornication is found Met. IX, 6, referring to Nero. A related term, *wōhhæmed*, n., we have in *se yfla unrihta . . . / wraða willa wohhæmedes*, Met. XVIII, 2. The sin of sodomy is referred to, *þæt mid þam hæleðum haman wolden / unscomlice*, Gen. 2458-9. *Wislufu* in the sense of adultery is used Jul. 296, *ða se halga wer / þære wislufan wordum styrde*, Herod's illicit relation being further characterized as *unrihtre æ*, 297. In *Instructions* the son is warned against *idese lufan*, 36, *forðon sceal æwiscmod oft sibian, / se þe gewiteð in wifes lufan, / fremdre meowlan: þær bið a firena wen, / laðlicre scome*, 37-40.

346. Among the *Peccata Operis* worship of heathen gods and devils may be pointed out here. *Hæðengiold, dēofolgiold*, etc., have already been discussed. Witchcraft and magic also belong here. *Gealdor*, n., *incantatio*, we have in (Circe) *cuðe galdra fela*, Met. XXVI, 53, and the compound in *Sygegealdor ic begale*, Charm VIII, 6. *Galdorcraft* is ascribed to the Jews, *Judea galdorcraftum*, And. 166. We note *wiccraft* in *wiccrafta wis*, Gifts 70, and *wiccungdōm*, Dan. 121, both referring to witchcraft. *Drȳcraft* is mentioned several times, for instance in *Andreas*, the Jews claiming concerning a miracle of Christ, *þæt hit drycraftum gedon ware, / scingelacum*, 765, *cuðe* (Circe) *galdra fela / drijan drycraftas*, Met. XXVI, 54, *drycraftum*, 98, and *mid drycraftum*, 102. *Scīngelāc* and *scīnlāc*, n., magical practices, sorcery, we have Jul. 214, as also Met. XXVI, 74, And. 766.

347. Other sins properly coming under this heading, such as murder, theft, etc., are also encountered, but since they offer nothing characteristically Christian, no treatment of them seems to be called for.

III. PECCATA ORIS

348. Here belongs *bismer*, mnf., in a general sense insult, and when applied to God, blasphemy. Thus, *hi gefremedan oðer bysmer (irritaverunt)*, Ps. CV, 25, *him hæfdan on bysmer (irritaverunt)*, CVI, 10, *brigdeð on bysmer*, Judg. 71. As occurrences of the verb we note, *me bysmeredon . . . / weras wansælige* (Jews Christ), And. 962, *naman þinne nu bysmriað (irritat)*, Ps. LXXIII, 10, *gebysmerian*, as, *hi heanne god gebysmredan (exacerbaverunt Deum excelsum)*, LXXVII, 56. In the sense of to blaspheme *hyrwan* occurs, *ac hi hyrwdon me* (Jews Christ), El. 355. *Hyspan*, to mock, is found Cr. 1121, *hysplun* (Christ) *hearmcwidum*, the noun being *hosp*, m., blasphemy, when applied to the Deity, as, (*Ic gepolade*) *hosp and heardcwide*, Cr. 1444. In a somewhat general sense *hospword* is found And. 1315. In a more specific meaning we note, *þæt þu hospcwide, / æfst ne eofsæc æfre ne fremme, / grimne geagncwide wið godes bearne*, El. 523, though *hospcwide* as also the other terms used derive the specific meaning of blasphemy from the context. *Onhyscan*, to mock, is rare, occurring in the *Psalms*. Of other terms may be noted *teoncwide*, on *þære grimmetan godscyld wrecan, / torne teoncwide*, Jul. 205, applied to heathen gods, the word also being encountered And. 771. *Tëona*, in the sense of slander, we have in *seo lunge to teonan geclypede*, Doom 137. *Edwit*, n., scorn, abuse, is used a number of times. The damned have to endure *deofles spellunge, / hu hie him on edwit oft asettað / swarte suslbonan*, Sat. 638-40, *spræcon him* (Christ) *edwit*, Cr. 1122, *Cwepað him þæt edwit (exprobraverunt)*, Ps. LXXXVIII, 44. *Edwitspræce (opprobrii)* we have in verse 43, as also CI, 6 (*exprobrant*), while Gu. 418 the devils are called *edwitsprecan*.

349. A somewhat different sin is expressed by terms such as *idele spræc*, L. Prayer III, 108, and *mānidel word (vanitatem)*, Ps. CXLIII, 9, 13, but they hardly need any discussion. *Gielp*, mn., in the sense of boasting, though also in that of pride, arrogance, is rather frequent. Of the fallen angels it is said, *Hæfdon gielp micel*, Gen. 25, *wæs him gylp farod*, 69. We note also, *ongan ða gyddigan þurh gylp micel*, Dan. 599, *idel gylp*, Sat. 254, Gu. 634. A number of compounds, such as *gilpspræc*, are also found. The verb *gielpan* is very frequent, *gealp gramlice gode on andan*, Dan. 714, *firenum gulpon*, Gu. 236, *gylpað gramhydige (gloriatī sunt)*, Ps. LXXIII, 4, *manwyrhtan morðre gylpað (peccatores gloriabuntur)*, XCIII, 3, etc., etc.

350. The most common term for lie is *lyge*, m., exemplified by *mengan ongunnon / lige wið soðe*, El. 307, *lige ne wyrðeð*, 575, *þu* (devil) *us gelær-*

dæst ðurh lyge ðinne, Sat. 53. Of compounds may be noted *lygesynnig*, used once, El. 898, as an epithet of the devil, *lygeword*, occurring a few times, as Dan. 720, Ps. LVII, 3 (*falsa*), etc. The verb is *lēogan*, to lie, *wyrs deð se ðe liehð / oððe ðæs soðes ansæceð*, Sal. 181, *Him fynd godes fæcne leogað (mentiti sunt ei)*, Ps. LXXX, 14. *Ālēogan* and *gelēogan*, though rare, also occur. Another term for lie is *lygen*, f., met with a number of times in *Genesis*, thus, *mid ligenum*, 496, 531, 588, etc. *Lygenword* in the dat. pl. is found Gen. 699, the term occurring only once. A liar is called *lyge-wyrhta* Sermon Ps. 28, 11, the dat. pl. being used. *Lēas*, n., is very rare, *þæt leas*, El. 580, and *lease leng gefylgað*, 576. The adjective is more frequent, occurring for instance Cr. 1120, and Sermon Ps. 28, 24. It may be pointed out that *lease sceaweras*, Beow. 253, is used in the sense of spies. *Lēasung* is rarely met with; we have it in *forlæte þa leasunga*, El. 689.

351. The OE. word for oath is *að*. While the idea of perjury is expressed by *ne me swor jela / aða on unriht*, Beow. 2738, we read *on worulde her / monnum ne deriað mane aðas*,¹ Met. IV, 48. The perjurer is called an *aðloga* Cr. 1605. *Mānswara* is applied to him Cr. 193, the plural being found 1612.

352. *Tæl*, f., slander, calumny, is found a few times, e.g., *ic for tæle ne mæg / ænigne moncynnes mode gelufian / eorl on eple*, Prayer IV, 105. *Tælnis* in the sense of blasphemy has already been quoted under that heading. The verb *tælan*, to slander or backbite, is comparatively rare, being encountered in *Eorl oðerne mid æspancum / and mid teonwordum tæleð behindan*, Sermon Ps. 28, 4, the father warning his son *Ne beo þu no to tælende ne to tweospræce*, Instructions 90. In the sense of to blaspheme is found (*he*) *his godu tælde*, Jul. 598. We note also, *þe oft wraðe me trage tældan (qui detrahunt mihi apud Dominum)*, Ps. CVIII, 20.

353. *Wyrgeðu*, f., curse, is used a number of times. Thus we find, *þe eow of wergðe (lysan þohie)*, El. 295, *Euan scyld eal forpynded, / wærgða aworpen*, Cr. 98, *He wolde wergðu wyrcean georne (dilexit maledictionem)*, Ps. CVIII, 17, etc. The verb is *wyrgan*, its use being illustrated by (*ongan hine*) *wordum wyrgean* (Noah Ham), Gen. 1594, *þa ge wergdon þane, / þe eow of wergðe (lysan þohie)*, El. 294, *gif me min feond fæcne wyrgeð (si inimicus maledixisset mihi)*, Ps. LIV, 11. Not seldom *āwyrgan* is utilized, often applied in the sense of accursed one to the devil or the lost, as, *se awyrgda*, Sat. 316, etc., *awyrgda*, 676, etc. For further remarks see chapter XII, 431.

IV. PECCATA CORDIS

354. Among the deadly sins as conceived by the Mediaeval Church *superbia* stood first, which in OE. poetry is often rendered by *oferhygd*, n., examples of which are numerous. Pride was at the bottom of the rebellion

¹ OS. *mēnūh*, OHG. *meineid*, ON. *meinciðr*.

of the angels against God. We are told *þæt wæs geara iu in godes rice, / þætte mid englum oferhygd astag*, Moods 57-8, so that *hi to swice þohten / and prymcyning peodenstoles / ricne beryfan*, 61-2. Of the chief it is said, *ær ðon engla weard for oferhygde / dæl on gedwilde*, Gen. 22, while *æfst and oferhygd and þæs engles mod*, 29, proved the downfall of the angels, *þa blacan feond / for oferhygdum ealle forwurdon*, Sat. 196-7. Of other occurrences of the term we note, *oferhygd* Dan. 490, *oferhyd*, 495, 615, *fore oferhygdum*, Jul. 424, *on oferhygdo*, Moods 23, *oferhygda ful*, 43, similarly 53; from the *Psalms*. *on oferhygde (in superbia)*, LVIII, 12, *þe oferhygd up ahebbe (qui facit superbiam)*, C, 7, etc., etc. *Oferhydig*, n., occurs Ps. LXXVII, 58 (*aemulationem*). The adjective *oferhydig* is found a number of times, especially in the *Psalms*. We note, *englas oferhydige*, Prayer IV, 55, *oferhidig cyn engla*, Gen. 66, *oferhydige (superbos)*, Ps. CXVIII, 21, 22, *oferhydigum (superbis)*, XCIII, 2, etc.

355. In order to express *superbia* other terms are also employed, as, *ofermēde*, n., *his engyl ongan ofermede micel / ahebban wið his hearran*, Gen. 293, *on ofermedum*, Moods 75, *ofermēdla*, for *his ofermedlan*, Dan. 657, *onmēdla*, a number of times, as, *onmedla wæs*, Cr. 815, for *ðam anmedlan*, Sat. 74, for *anmædlan*, 429, for *anmedlan*, Dan. 748. We have further, *ofermetto*, f., *his ofermetto ealra swiðost* (chief angel), Gen. 351, *þurh ofermetto*, 332, *þurh ofermetto ealra swiðost* (fallen angels), 337, *ofermōd*, n., *se engel ofermodes*, Gen. 272, for *his ofermode*, Maldon 89. The adjective *ofermōd* is found a number of times, *ofermod wesan*, Gen. 262, *se ofermoda cyning* (chief angel or devil), 338, *Eala ofermodant* Met. X, 18, etc. *Ofermōdig* in the pl. occurs Ps. CXVIII, 51 (*superbi*), found only once, as also the verb *ofermōdgian*, Met. XVII, 16. Related terms are *hēahmōd*, adj., (*Se þe hine sylfne*) *ahefeð heahmodne*, Moods 54, *swiðmōd*, Dan. 529, etc., also *hēahheort*, adj., Dan. 540.

356. Among other terms for *superbia* we note *wlenco*, f., *wlenco onwod*, Gen. 2579, *hie wlenco onwod æt winþege*, Dan. 17, *wlenco gesceod*, 678, for *wlence*, Gen. 1673, etc. *Gāl*, n., is encountered Gen. 327, and *gālscepe* 341, in each case the term probably referring to pride. *Bælc*, L. *superbia*, *arrogantia*, we find in *bælc forbigeð* (Assyrians), Jud. 267, and *bælc forbigeð* (rebellious angels), Gen. 54.

357. *Nīþ*, m., L. *invidia*, is used in referring to the devil Ph. 400, as also in *þurh nædran nīþ*, 413. We have *wið nīþa gehwam* 469, while it is said of Cain, *hygewælm asteah / beorne on breostum, blatende nið*, Gen. 980-81, *brandhata nið*, And. 768, referring to the devil, etc. Similarly, also including hatred, *æfest* is employed. We have, *æfst and oferhygd and þæs engles mod* (devil), Gen. 29, *ne meahon hy* (devils) *æfeste anforlætan*, Gu. 158, *fore æfstum*, 684, *caldfeondes æfest*, Ph. 401, *æfstum þurh inwit*

(Christ was crucified), El. 207, *is gromra to fela. / æfestum eaden*, Prayer IV, 46, *hie (Jews) for æfstum inwit syredon*, And. 610, *hie for æfstum unscyldigne (feore beræddon . . . , Jews Stephen)*, El. 496, etc., etc.

358. *Hete*, m., is often employed in the sense of hatred, also having the wider meaning of hostility. We quote, *se was lað gode, / on hete heofon-cyninges*, Gen. 648, (*Ic fleah*) *hlæfdigan hete*, 2273, (*godes agen bearn*) *þurh hete hengen on heanne beam*, El. 424. From *hete* a number of compounds are formed, thus, *heteþanc*, *ne gerim witan / heardra heteþanca*, Jul. 315, *mid his heteþancum*, Beow. 475, *heteþancol*, Jud. 105, *hellen*, full of hate, Cr. 364. *Fēogan*, to hate, is encountered a number of times, especially in the *Psalms*. We note, *þa þe dryhtnes æ / feodon þurh firencræft*, Jul. 14, *ieodon þurh feondscipe*, El. 356, *þe hine feodan (qui oderunt eum)*, Ps. LXVII, 1, *ðe fæste ær feodan, drihten (oderunt te)*, LXXXII, 2, etc.

359. *Forhyccan*, despise, detest, is exemplified by *ðu forhogodes heofon-cyninges word*, And. 1381, *sippan he þas woruld forhogde* (not a sin here), Gu. 713, *hine forhogode (despexisti)*, Ps. LXXXVIII, 32. *Oferhyccan* is rare, *Utan oferhyccan helm* (God), Sat. 252, *had oferhogedon halgan lifes*, Dan. 300. *Onscunian*, detest, is found once, *onscunedon þone sciran scippend eallra*, El. 370.

360. *Yrre*, n., occurs frequently, especially in the *Psalms*. *Irre*, Met. XXV, 51, *Yrre ne læt þe æfre gewealdan / heah in hrepre*, Instructions 83, *yrre for æfstum* (Cain), Gen. 982, *Hyre þa þurh yrre ageaf andsware*, Jul. 117, *godes yrre / habban*, Gen. 695, *þa to yrre beoð ealle gecigde (eos qui in ira provocant)*, Ps. LXVII, 7, *Swa hi his yrre oft awehtan (in iram concitaverunt)*, LXXVII, 58, etc. The adjective is frequently found, *hæleð wæron yrre*, Jud. 225, *wearð yrre anmod cyning*, Dan. 224, *on yrre mod eft gebrohtan*, Ps. LXXVII, 40, etc. Among other terms may be noted *ysung*, thrice used in *Meters*, while the adjective *yrtinga* and the verb *ysian* are also rare.

361. *Æbylg*, n., is found once, *geafnan æbylg godes*, Gu. 1211, *æbylgð*, f., in the sense of anger, *He æbylgde on hi bitter and yrre sarlic sende (misit in eos iram indignationis suae)*, Ps. LXXVII, 49, *æbylgnes*, L. *indignatio*, *he him æbylgnesse oft gefremede*, Moods 71, and *æbylgnes eac yrres þines (indignatio irae tuae)*, Ps. LXVIII, 25. *Belgan*, to become indignant, angry, is frequently employed, *abelgan* and *gebelgan* being also found.⁸ *Abylgan*, to anger, offend, we have in *Hi hine on gepeakte oft abylgdan (exacerbaverunt)*, Ps. CV, 32, *þæt he ne abælige bearn waldendes*, Sat. 195. Among other terms we note *hætheortnes*, anger, fury, used once, *mid ðæm swiðan welme / hætheortnesse*, Met. XXV, 47, *torn*, OHG. *zorn*, *þenden him hyra torn toglide*, Gn. Ex. 182, *his torn wrecan*, Gen. 2508, etc., *Wæron teonsmiðas*

⁸ For examples see *Sprachschatz*.

tornes fulle, Gu. 176, etc. Of compounds appear such as *gārtorn*, fighting rage, *gārtorn geolað gifrum deofle*, Sal. 145, *tornmōd*, once, Gu. 621, and *tornwraacu*, once, Gu. 272. It may be pointed out here that the same terms are occasionally also applied to the Deity, and merely for the purpose of illustration we have at times added an example thus used.

362. *Gitsung*, desire, covetousness, avarice. *Deos gitsung*, Met. VIII, 43, *sio gitsung*, 46, *grundleas gitsung gilpes and æhta*, VII, 15, *gitsunge gelpes*, X, 13, *nales þy he giemde þurh gitsunga / lænes lifwelan*, Gu. 121-2. From the *Psalms* we note, *nales me gitsung forniman mote (in avaritiam)*, CXVIII, 36, *ongunnan gitsunge began (concupierunt concupiscentiam)*, CV, 12, *for gitsunga (libidine percitus*, Grein), Ps. L. 24. Of compounds occur *woruldgitsung*, Met. VII, 12. *Woruldgitsere* is found Met. XIV, 1, and *feohgitsere* VIII, 55. Closely related are (to) *feohgifre*, Wand. 68, *gōdes grādig*, Sal. 344, and similar terms. *Fæsthafoles* is found once, Doom 236, rendering *dira cupido*, 119. *Mānsceat*, m., usury, occurs once, *He of mansceatte and of mane eac sniome hiora sawle softe alysyde (ex usuris et iniquitate)*, Ps. LXXI, 14.

363. *Twēogan*, to doubt, is sometimes found in the religious sense. Thus, [*No heo tirmeotludes*] *tweode gifena / in ðys ginnan grunde*, Jud. 1, *huru æt þam ende ne tweode / þæs leanes, þe heo lange gyrnde*, 346, *ne getweode treow in breostum*, Gu. 515, *tweogende mod*, And. 771, in contrast to which may be noted *hyht untweondne on þone ahangnan Crist*, El. 797.

364. A noun *ungelēafa* does not occur in the poetry, though we have the adjective once, *ungeleaf menn (non credentes)*, Ps. LXVII, 19. The idea is variously paraphrased, but we need not discuss all the expressions here. Not seldom unbelief or godlessness is represented as error or deception. *Gedwīld* is used for instance, *hean þrowian / þinra dæda gedwīld*, Gen. 922, *engla weard for oferhygde / dæl on gedwilde*, 23. *Misgedwīld* is also found, *þæt we soðfæstra / þurh misgedwīld mod oncyrran*, Jul. 326. *Gedwola* is used several times, as for instance, *in gedwolan hweorfan*, Dan. 22, *gedwolan hyran*, Cr. 344, *gedwolan dreogan*, Gu. 230, practically in the sense of idolatry, *deofulgild todraf and gedwolan fylde*, And. 1688, *þurh deopne gedwolan deofles larum*, 611. It is said of Cyriacus, (*wiðsoc*) *deofulgildum and gedwolan fylde*, El. 1040, and in reference to the Jews, *þurh deofles spild in gedwola lange / acyrred fram Criste*, 1118-19. Arius' heresy is labeled *Arrianes / gedwola*, Met. I, 40-41. The verb *gedwelian* in the religious sense we have exemplified in *dædum gedwolene* (people of Sodom and Gomorrah), Gen. 1936, similarly Jul. 13.

365. *Untrēow*, f., we find in a secular sense Met. II, 13, in the religious meaning Gen. 773. *Untrēowe*, perfidious, is also encountered, *Wætleas mon and wonhydig, / ætrenmod and ungetreow*, Gn. Ex. 163. *Ungetrēowð*

we have in *tyhð me untreowða*, Gen. 581. The cowardly companions of Beowulf are called *treowlogan*, 2847. Cowardice, perfidy, and disloyalty would of course be regarded as cardinal sins by the Germanic mind.

366. *Unsoðfæstnes* occurs only once in poetry, Ps. LIV, 9, (*injustitia*). The adjective is also rare, *we unsoðfæste ealle wæron* (*injuste*), Ps. CV, 6, *unsoðfæstne wer* (*virum injustum*), CXXXIX, 11. *Unriht* in the sense of injustice is also found.

367. As in ON,⁹ the expression for *conscientia* in OE. poetry is not always the same, the idea being foreign to the heathen mind. Besides it is seldom mentioned. Once we have *bræostgehygd*, nf., *ac ealle þurhyrnð . . . / breostgehygða*, Doom 172. Wisdom seems to be regarded as the keeper of the soul Cr. 1550-53, (*we magon*) *on an cweþan, / þæt se sawle weard / lifes wisdom forloren hæbbe, / se þe nu ne giemeð. . . .* In this case as in the following the reference is not as clear as we might wish it to be, *þonne se weard swefeð, / sawele hyrde: bið se slæp to fast / bisgum gebunden*, Beow. 1741- 3.

368. God tempts or probes man in order to find out his position. The word used is *costian*, for instance, *þa þæs rinces se rica ongan / cyning costigan* (God Abraham), Gen. 2846. The devil also tempts man, but with the object of seducing him, *costian* also being employed. Regarding the tempting of Christ we hear, *þæt he* (devil) *costode cyning alwihta*, Sat. 671. Of St. Guthlac it is said, *He gecostad wearð*, 124. The noun is *costung*, a word comparatively rare, *Ne læt usic costunga cnyssan to swiðe*, L. Prayer I, 9, (*Ne læd þu us*) *in costunge* (*temptationem*), II, 28, and *na us þu ne læt laðe beswican / on costunga* (*temptationem*), III, 105. We have the term also in *sindan costinga / . . . monge arisene*, Gu. 9, and *Wæs seo æreste earmra gasta / costung ofercumen*, 409. *Fräsung*, temptation, is found in *frasunga fela*, Gu. 160.

369. The devil himself describes his infernal strategy at some length in *Juliana*, under the figure of assailing a castle, etc. To express his procedure in winning man as described by him in language not figurative, we quote the summary of Abbetmeyer¹⁰ on Jul. 362 ff.: "Wherever he (namely the devil) finds the mind steadfast, he arouses wanton pride by inspiring fallacious, delusive thoughts ('suggestio'); he makes sinful lusts appear attractive, until the mind obeys his teaching ('delectatio'); he sets it so on fire with sins that, all ablaze, it will no longer tarry in the house of prayer for love of vice, but do the devil's will ('consensus')."

⁹ Kahle, I, p. 406-7.

¹⁰ *Old English Poetical Motives Derived from the Doctrine of Sin*, p. 38.

370. The work of the devil is often expressed by *beswican*, to deceive, defraud, seduce, a term also used in a more general sense, as, *oð þæt hie langung beswac*, / *eorðan dreamas eces rædes*, Dan. 29, *We þurh gifre mod / beswican us sylfe*, Har. 96. In regard to the devil the term is used frequently, so *opþæt hy beswicað synna weardas*, Judg. 16, *na us þu ne læt laðe beswican / on costunga*, L. Prayer III, 104, *þonne hy soðfæstra sawle willað / synnum beswican and searocræftum*, Gu. 540, (devil) *wolde dearnunga drihtnes geongran*, / *mid mandædum menn beswican*, / *forlædan and forlæran*, Gen. 451, etc., etc. As exemplified in the last passage, *forlædan* and *forlæran* are also employed. We note further, (*woldun hy geteon*) *in orwennysse* (despair), Gu. 547, *fortæon in þonan us ær þurh synlust se swearta gæst / forteah and fortylde*, Cr. 270, *fortyhtan*, found once, *swa se ealda feond / forlærde ligesearwum*, leode *fortyhte*, El. 208. *Dimscua*, darkness, is employed, *under dimscuan deofles larum*, And. 141. *Gespan*, n., seduction, we find once, *deofles gespon*, Gen. 720, the verb *spanan* occurring in *mid listum speon / idese on þæt unriht*, Gen. 588, similarly 687; *bespanan* we have once, *ic Herode / in hyge bispeon* (to behead John the Baptist), Jul. 294. *Scyccan*, in the sense of to seduce, we have in *Me nædre beswac and me neodlice / to forsceape scyhte*, Gen. 898. *Scucca* is the seducer, devil, demon, as, *scuccum and scinnum*, Beow. 939, *sceuccum* (*daemoniis*), Ps. CV, 27, *scyccgyld* occurring in *sceucegyldum* (*sculptilibus*), 26. With *scuccum* and *scinnum*, Beow. 939, compare *Swa bið scinna þearw*, / *deofla wise*, Whale 31.

CHAPTER X

FAITH, CONVERSION, PENANCE

371. The teachings of Christianity demand of man that he forsake sin and lead a new life in Christ. By the grace of God faith accomplishes this regeneration or rebirth, and remains the basis from which Christian virtues and good works proceed as natural and inevitable evidences of sanctification.

I. FAITH

372. The New Testament *πίστις*, which the Vulgate renders by *fides*, is expressed in OE. by *gelēafa*, OHG. *galauba*.¹ As in the case of OHG., *gelēafa* may be used in both the subjective and the objective sense, though the former is much more common. In the objective meaning it occurs only a few times, as in the missionary command, *bodiað and bremað beorhtne geleafan*, Cr. 483, and similarly, *Bodiað æfter burgum beorhtne geleafan*, And. 335.

373. As a rule, subjective faith is expressed by *gelēafa*, often a modifying adjective also being employed. Thus we have, *An is geleafa, an lifgende*, Maxims 8, *his geleafa wearð / fæst on ferhðe*, El. 1035, *heo ahte trumne geleafan / a to ðam ælmihtigan*, Jud. 6, *mid fæste geleafan*, Charm I, 34, *Ic hæbbe me fæstne geleafan / up to þam ælmihtegan gode*, Gen. 543, (*ne hæfdon*) *on hiora fyrhþe fæstne geleafan (nec fideles habitii sunt)*, Ps. LXXVII, 36, *mid rihte geleafan*, Jud. 97, *soðne geleafan*, 89, 345, *beorhtne geleafan*, Gu. 770, *leohtne geleafan*, El. 491, (*mid*) *leohte geleafan*, Jul. 653, *leohte geleafan*, El. 1136, Gu. 624, 1084, Ph. 479, *leohttran geleafan in liffruman*, Dan. 643, *leohtes geleafan*, Jul. 378.

374. The verb is *gelēfan*, *gelīfan*, *gelȳfan*, generally expressing the L. *credere*, though also rendering *fidere* and *sperare*. As *gelēfan* is of such frequent occurrence, only a few characteristic examples need be given here, *Ne wile Sarran soð gelyfan / wordum minum*, Gen. 2388, *Ic on sunu þinne soðne gelyfe*, Creed 9, *þe gelyfað on lyfendne god*, Prayer III, 29, *Lisse ic gelyfe leahtra gehwylces*, Creed 54, *noldan his wundrum wel gelyfan (non crediderunt in mirabilibus ejus)*, Ps. LXXVII, 31, *Nu is to gelyfenne to ðan leofan gode*, Chr. IV, 13.

375. Only a few compounds are met with in the poetry. *Ungelēaf* has already been cited in 364. The acc. or inst. of *soðgelēafa* is found Gen.

¹ For this chapter compare Raumer, p. 388 ff., Kahle, I, 407 ff., II, 152-3.

2325. *Gelēafful* occurs a few times, El. 959 and as *gelēaffull* 1047 referring to Cyriacus, *Ofer geleaffulle eorðbugende* (*ad fideles terrae*), Ps. C, 6, *wordum (ac) geleaffullum* (*fidei sermone*, 31), Doom 61. *Gelēafsum* occurs once, *þin gewitnes is weorcum geleafsum* (*testimonia tua credibilia facta sunt*), Ps. XCII, 6.

376. Sometimes other terms than *gelēafa* are used to express substantially the same idea. *Trēow*, f., is not infrequently employed. We note, *huru treow in þe* (Virgin Mary) / *weorðlicu wunade*, Cr. 82, *ge mid treowe to me / on hyge hweorfað*, Partridge 5, *Hio in gæste bær / halge treowe*, Jul. 29, *soðe treowe and sibbe mid eow / healdað æt heortan*, 655, (Noah) *Hæfde him on hreðre halige treowa*, Ex. 366, (no) *treow getweode*, Gu. 311, *him ne getweode treow in breostum*, 515, *þæt his treowa sceal / and his modgeðonc ma up þonne niðer / habban to heofonum*, Met. XXXI, 18, as also *Til biþ se þe his treowe gehealdeð*, Wand. 112. *Hygetrēow* we have in (God promises Isaac) *him soðe to / modes wære mine gelætan, / halige higetreowa*, Gen. 2367.

377. *Trēowan* and *getrēowan* are sometimes used in the same sense as *gelēfan*. Thus, *æghwylcum, þe him on treowað* (*omnes qui confidunt in eis*), Ps. CXIII, 17, *þu in ecne god / brymsittendne þinne getreowdes*, Jul. 435, etc., *þa þe on drihten heora dædum getreowað* (*qui confidunt in Domino*), Ps. CXXIV, 1. Especially noteworthy is the use in *Creed*, where *getrēowan* and *gelēfan* are used interchangeably. We have, *Eac ic gelyfe, þæt syn leofe gode*, 49, and *ic gemænscipe mærne getreowe (þinra haligra)*, 52, *Lisse ic gelyfe leahtra gehwylces*, 54, and *ic þone arest ealra getreowe*, 55.

378. The Christian idea of hope is of course closely related to that of faith. Sometimes the terms are almost synonymous in OE. poetry. Among other examples we note *Gesette minne hyht on þec*, Prayer IV, 36, *Uton us to þære hyðe hyht stapelian*, Cr. 865, *hyht untweondne on þone ahangnan Crist*, El. 797, *berað in breostum beorhtne geleafan, / haligne hyht*, Gu. 771; *hopað to þam ecum*, Met. VII, 44, *se miccla hopa to þinum halende*, Exhortation 10.

II. CONVERSION

379. Conversion is expressed in different ways in OE. poetry, the turning away from sin and the turning to God being especially emphasized. In order to indicate conversion, the New Testament uses the terms *ἐπιστρέφειν*, *στραφῆναι*, and *ἐπιστροφή*. rendered in the Vulgate by *convertere*, *converti*, and *conversio*. These are concrete terms used in every-day life, metaphorically expressing actions taking place in the religious life of individuals. In OHG., ON., and OE. similar expressions are employed. In OE. poetry *cyrran*, which as a rule denotes to turn in a profane sense,

is used to indicate conversion, as, *Ac ðu synfulle simle lārdes, / ðæt hio cerrende Criste herdon*, Ps. L. 56. *Gecyrran* in the sense of to convert is used a few times, of which examples we note, *Gecyr mine sawle clæne on þine rædes reste* (*convertere anima mea in requiem tuam*), Ps. CXIV, 7, etc., *ðæt ic fram ðæm synnum selfa gecerre*, Ps. L. 64, *ðæt hie arlease eft gecerdan / to hiora selfra sawla hiorde* (*et impii ad te convertentur*), 106-7. On the other hand, apostacy is similarly expressed as a turning away from God, *acyrred cuðlice from Cristes æ*, Jul. 411, *acyrred from Criste*, El. 1119.

380. Other expressions are also used. We note for to convert, *fulwiað folc under roderum, þ hweorfað to heofonum*, Cr. 485, *þe ðu gehweorfest to heofonleohte / þurh minne naman*, And. 974, *Gehweorf us hraðe, hælend drihten* (*Converte nos Deus, salutaris noster*), Ps. LXXXIV, 4, *wenede to wuldre weorod unmate*, And. 1682, *sippan hine inlyhte, se þe lifes weg / gæstum gearwað*, Gu. 70-71, *Lærde þa þa leode on geleafan weg*, And. 1680, *Ongon heo þa læran and to lofe trymman / folc of firenum*, Jul. 638-9, etc. To be converted is also expressed in many different ways, *hweorfan hige-bliðe fram helltrafum / þurh Andreas este lare / to fægeran gefean*, And. 1691-3, *he þæt betere geceas, / wuldres wynne and þam wyrsan wiðsoc, / deofolgildum and gedwolan fylde, / unrihte æ*, El. 1038-41, *inbyrded breostsefa on þæt betere lif, / gewended to wuldre*, 1045-6, *ge mid treowe to me on hyge hweorfað*, Partridge 5-6, (*Ic eom*) *leomum inlyhted to þam leofestan / ecan earde*, Gu. 627, *þæt soðe leoht sweotole ancnewan / leohte geleafan*, Met. V, 25-6, *þær manegum wearð mod onlihted, / hige onhyrded þurh his halig word*, Ap. 52-3.

III. PENANCE

381. In order to express repentance the New Testament uses *μετάνοια*, which the Vulgate renders by *poenitentia*. According to Catholic doctrine *poenitentia* is divided into three parts, *contritio*, *confessio*, and *satisfactio*. In OHG. *hriuwa*, *bijihiti*, and *buoza* are employed, though not always in their strict sense.² In OE. poetry no such definite distinction can be made. As a rule *hrēow* is used for *contritio*, no distinct term for *confessio* occurs, though *scrift* in the sense of confessor is found, while *bōt* would seem to be more inclusive than *satisfactio*.

382. *Hrēow*, f., is used a few times, so in the strictly religious sense, *bute him ær cume / hreow to heortan, ær he hionan wende*, Met. XVIII, 11, *ne he wihte hafað / hreowe on mode*, Cr. 1558, and somewhat more general, *hreowum gedreahte*, (overwhelmed with sorrow at the destruction of the world), 994, *þær næfre hreow cymeð* (in Heaven), 1675. In Doom 56 the term is more inclusive than *contritio*, for *hu micel forstent and hu mære is / seo soðe hreow synna and gylta* renders the Latin *peccati quantum valeat*

² Raumer, p. 393.

confessio vera, 28. Of compounds *hrēowcearig* occurs a few times, so in the strictly religious sense, *hreowcearigum help*, Cr. 367. *Ic þær licgende lange hwile / beheold hreowcearig hælendes treow* we read Rood B, 25. The saint's companion is characterized as *hyge hreowcearig*, Gu. 1026, while in a general sense the term is also applied to the devil Jul. 536. *Hrēowig* is used once, *Nu wit hreowige*, Gen. 799, referring to Adam and Eve. *Hrēowigmōd* is rare, occurring in *þæt wif* (Eve) *gnornode, / hof hreowigmod*, Gen. 771, while the plural in the profane sense is applied to the Assyrians Jud. 290. *Hrēowlic* in the religious meaning we have in *mid hreowlicum tearum*, Doom 75, rendering the L. *lacrymis profusis*, 40. We add here a description of the *contritio*, *hwi not feormast þu / mid teara gyle torne synne* (*Cur tua non purgas lacrymis peccata profusis*, 40), Doom 78-9, and *Nu þu scealt greotan, tearas geotan* (*fletibus assiduus est*, 42), 82.

383. The verb is *hrēowan*, *āhrēowan* and *gehrēowan* also being found. Adam says, *Nu me mæg uhreowan*, Gen. 816, *me nu hreowan mæg*, 819, to which Eve rejoins, *on þinum hyge hreowan, þonne hit me æt heortan deð*, 826. We quote also, *him* (Jews) *þæt* (Crucifixion of Christ) *gehreowan mæg*, Sat. 540, *Him* (devil) *þæt est gehreaw*, 374, *forðon me hreoweð nu, þæt ic frene on ðe fremede* (*—quia peccavi tibi*), Ps. XL, 4, to which may be added, *hreaw hine* (God) *swiðe* (that he had created Adam), Gen. 1276, etc.

384. Confession is expressed in OE. prose by *scrift*, m., etymologically connected with L. *scriptum*.³ The term has also the meaning of confessor and prescribed penalty. ON. uses *script*, *scrift*, and though the word is found in other Teutonic dialects, the meaning penance, confession, is confined to English and Scandinavian. The verb *scrifan* in the sense of to judge appears in OE. poetry, (*seo þrynis*) *scrifeð bi gewyrhtum*, Jul. 728, *scyppend scinende scrifeð bi gewyrhtum / eall æfter ryhte*, Cr. 1220, while *forscrifan* in the sense of to condemn is encountered, *sipðan him* (Grendel) *scyppend forscriften hæfde*, Beow. 106, and *hu he þæt scyldi werud forscriften hæfde*, Sat. 33.

385. *Scrift* in the sense of confessor occurs once in the poetry, *ne mæg þurh þæt flæsc se scrift / geseon on þære sawle, hwæper him mon soð þe lyge / sagað on hine sylfne, / þonne he þa synne bigæð*, Cr. 1306. If *bigān* has here the sense of to confess, it is the only example of such occurrence.⁴ The confessor is called *godes bodan* (dat.), 1305. We point out here, as has also been done under *contritio*, that *seo soðe hreow*, Doom 56, renders *confessio vera*, 28.

386. *Satisfactio*, penance, forms the third part of the *poenitentia*. Of the Germanic languages OHG. has *buoza*, OFris. *bōte*, OS. *bōta*, ON. *bót*,

³ For the etymology compare *NED.* under *skrift*, also Kahle, I, pp. 409-10.

⁴ Compare note in Cook's *Christ*, p. 204.

while OE. uses *bōt*, f., the general meaning of which is advantage, compensation. However, in the poetry its meaning is more inclusive than the L. *satisfactio*, as for instance, *gif we sona eft / þara bealudæda bote gefrem-
maþ*, El. 515, and *se ðe (Cyriacus) to bote gehwearf / þurh bearn godes*, 1125. *Dædbōt* is met with once in the poetry, *þæt man her wepe / and dædbote
do*, Doom 85, rendering *Poenituisse iuvat*, line 43. The verbs *bētan* and *gebētan* are also found, in the religious sense, *þeah he lætlicor / bette bea-
lodæde*, Prayer IV, 34, and *forðon he gebette balaniða hord / mid eaðmede
ingepance*, Ps. L. 151-2. *Unbēted* occurs only once, *wom unbeted* (guilt or
stain unatoned), Cr. 1312.

CHAPTER XI

CHRISTIAN VIRTUES, QUALITIES, AND GOOD WORKS

I. VIRTUES

387. In order to render Latin *virtus* OE. prose sometimes uses *mægen*, n., a term generally expressing vigor, power, might.¹ In OE. poetry *mægen* as a rule has the latter meaning, though in a passage like *of mægne in mægen mærbum tilgan*, Cr. 748, it may perhaps be rendered by virtue.² This is probably the case in *ne þan mægen hwyrfe in hæðendom*, Dan. 221. In other passages as *Hio* (namely prudence) is *þæt mæste mægen monnes saule*, Met. XX, 202, and *þa ðe snyttro mid eow / mægn and modcraeft mæste habban*, El. 408, the connotation seems to represent the transitional stage. Another word closely approaching in meaning to virtue is *duguþ*, f., power, efficiency. In *duguðum bedeled*, Sat. 122, it may occur in the sense of power, but has the meaning virtue in *Swa is dryhten god dreama rædend / eallum eaðmedum oprum gesceaftum, / duguða gehwylcre*, Panther 57, which Thorpe³ renders "to everything of virtue," and Grein⁴ "den edelen anderen Geschöpfen," with which compare *duguðe beswicað*, seduce the virtuous, Whale 33. *Cyst*, mf., really choice, is sometimes used in the sense of virtue. Thus, *his giefte bryttað / sumum on cystum, sumum on craeftum*, Gifts 106, *kystum god* (Edward), Chr. V, 23, *he sibban sceal / godra gumcysta geasne hweorfan*, Jul. 381, *þæt we gumcystum georne hyran*, And. 1606, while of Cain it is said, *se cystleasa cwalmes wyrhta*, Gen. 1004. The plural of *þeaw*, m., though generally modified, is at times used in the sense of virtues. We cite, *cristenum þeawum*, El. 1210, *þa þe meotude wel / gehyrdun under heofonum halgum ðeowum, / dædum domlicum*, Ph. 444, *hyran holdlice minum hælende / þeawum and gebyncðum*, Gu. 577, *þeowiað in þeawum*, 473, *sigefæston / modum gleawe in monþeawum*, Az. 190.

388. The chief Christian virtue is love. The New Testament distinguishes religious from profane love by using *ἀγάπη*, *ἀγαπᾶν* in connection with the former and *φιλῆν* with the latter. The Vulgate employs *amor* and *amare* to denote sexual and other secular love, while *caritas* and

¹ For this chapter compare Raumer, p. 397 ff., Kahle, I, 411 ff., II, 108 ff.

² Compare note on p. 146 of Cook's *Christ*. Ps. LXXXIII, 7, on which the phrase in *Christ* seems to have been modelled, has *of mægene on mægen* (*de virtute in virtutem*), in the sense of strength, victory. It is interesting to note that in ON. *kraþr*, really power, might, renders L. *virtus* in the religious sense of virtue, while the Latin term itself originally denoted manly strength.

³ *Codex Exoniensis*, p. 359.

⁴ *Dichtungen*, I, p. 219.

diligere serve to express the religious emotion.⁵ Later this distinction is partly obliterated, *amor Dei* for instance being frequently found.⁶ In OHG. and ON. no such distinctive terms are used, which holds good also for OE., where we have *lufu*, OHG. *luba*. The word is comparatively frequent in the poetry, generally occurring in the religious sense. The secular use is illustrated for instance in *lufum and lissum*, Gen. 2737, *lufu langsumu*, 1906, *idese lufan*, Instructions 36, *wifes lufan*, 38; *wiflufan*, Jul. 296, *sibblufan*, Gen. 2514, *freondlufu*, 1834. The examples dealing with religious love have been selected with a view of showing particular qualities or relations. (Establish) *mid lufan sibbe*, / *leohte geleasan*, Jul. 652, *þæt seo lufu cyþeð*, / *þonne heo in monnes mode getimbreð* / *gæstcunde gife*, Gu. 741, (Philip and James died) *for meotudes lufan*, Men. 82, *lufan dryhtnes*, Judg. 49, also *Seaf. 121*, El. 491, similarly 947, 1205; *colap Cristes lufu*, Gu. 9, *for Cristes lufan clæne geheolde* (her maidenhood), Jul. 31, *seo hluttre lufu* / *godes and manna*, Exhortation 8-9, *hæfde hluttre lufan*, / *ece upgemynd engta blisse*, And. 1063, *soð lufu*, Jul. 669, *þæt he soðlice sybbe healde*, / *gastlice lufe*, Sermon Ps. 28, 39; *for gæstlufan*, Az. 172, *mid gæstlufan*, 188, *ac hie of sibblufan* / *godes akwurfon*, Gen. 24, *mid sibblufan sunu waldendes* / *freonoman cende*, Cr. 635, (those that know) *haligne heortlufan* (in observing Sunday), Dox. 29, *fæste fyrðlufan*, And. 83, *torne bitolden wæs seo treowlufu* / *hat æt heortan*, Cr. 538, *byrnende lufu*, Gen. 191, *fyrhat lufu*, / *weallende gewitt*, El. 936, *brondhat lufu*, Gu. 937, etc. The verb *lufian* is very frequent. We note, *lufige mid lacum þone þe leoht gescop*, Jul. 111, *gif þu soðne god* / *lufast*, 48, *hate æt heortan hige weallende* / *dages and nihtes dryhten lufiað*, Ph. 478, *lufudun leofwendum lifes agend*, Cr. 471, *ic lufie þe* (*Dilexi*), Ps. CXIV, 1, *ic minne drihten deorne lufige* (*ego vero delectabor in Domino*), CIII, 32, *þine hælu holde lufigean* (*diligunt salutare tuum*), LXIX, 5.

389. Another Christian virtue is fear of God, the reverential awe due the supreme power. In the Old Testament the idea of fear is prominent, but though in the New Testament it is modified to reverential awe, Latin still retains *timor*, *timere*.⁷ In OE. poetry the idea is variously expressed. We note, *mid cwide sinum* / *gretan godfyrhne* (Matthew), And. 1022, *godfyrhte guman Josua and Tobias*, 1516, *þætte godferhte gylt gefræmmað*, Ps. L. 14. *Ege*, m., and *egesa* are more commonly used. Thus, *hafa metodes ege on gemang symle*, / *þæt is witodlice wisdomes ord*, Exhortation 17, *se þe him ege drihtnes on ferhðcleofan fæste gestandeð* (*qui timet Dominum*), Ps. CXI, 1, *þa on ege þinum ealle healde* (*in timore tuo*), CXVIII, 38, *hire wæs godes egsa* / *mara in gemyndum*, Jul. 35-6, *him gasta weardes* /

⁵ Raumer, pp. 398-9.

⁶ Kahle, I, p. 412.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 413.

egesa on breostum wunode, Gen. 2865-6, *flyhð yfla gehwylc / grimme gieltas for godes egsan*, Ph. 461, in a more general sense, *ealle eorðbuend egsan habbað* (*et timebunt gentes*), Ps. CI, 13, in a religious sense, *þam þe egsan his elne healdað* (*timentes eum*), LXXXIV, 8. *Ondrædan* is also used a number of times, so in *gif he him god ne ondræt*, Exhortation 38, *þe him his dryhten ne ondrædeþ*, Seaf. 106, *þa þe ondrædað him* (*timentes eum*), Ps. CII, 16, *Eadige syndon ealle, þe him ecne god drihten ondrædað* (*beati omnes, qui timent Dominum*), CXXVII, 1, *ne him godes fyrhtu georne ondrædað* (*non timuerunt Deum*), LIV, 20, where we have in addition *fyrhtu*.

390. As the remedy against *superbia* and as one of the most important Christian virtues appears humility, the L. *humilitas*. The idea of humility was foreign to the Germanic heathen mind, so that the Christian terminology had to be created.⁸ In Gothic *hauneins*, really lowering, then lowliness of mind, came to be used, in ON. *litelléte* and the adjective *litellátr*. In OHG. the terms are *odmuoti*, *deomuiti*, etc., which, as will be seen, are closely related to those used in OE. Here we have the adjective *eaðmōd*, as, *Eom ic eaðmod his ombiehthera, / þeow geþyldig*, Gu. 571, *Eadig bið se þe eapmod leofað*, Seaf. 107, *he* (Augustine) *on Brytene her / eaðmode him eorlas funde / to godes willan*, Men. 99, *her on eorþan eaðmod leofað*, Moods 68, *gif þu eaðmodne eorl gemete*, 78. *Eaðmōd* is also used, as, *þanne beo þu eadmod*, Exhortation 3, *þu eadmodra ealra locast* (*humilia respicit*), Ps. CXXXVII, 6, the adverb *eaðmōdlice* occurring in *eadmodlice eallunga biddan / heofena drihten*, Exhortation 48. *Eaðmēde* and *eaðmēde* are also encountered, of which we note only, *dreama rædend / eallum eaðmedum*⁹ *oprum gesceaftum / duguða gehwylcre*, Panther 56, *ic eom eadmede* (*ego humiliatus sum*), Ps. CXV, 1. The verb *geeaðmēdan* is rare, used in *geeaðmeded ingebancum*, Ps. L. 128, and *ic geeaðmeded eom* (*humiliatus sum*), CXLI, 6. The noun employed is *eaðmēdu*, *eaðmēdu*, pl. n., *þurh eaðmedu*, Gu. 74, *oft his word gode / þurh eaðmedu up onsende*, 748, *He wæs on elne and on eaðmedum*, 299, (Cyriacus prays) *eallum eaðmedum*, El. 1100, *min eaðmedu* (*humilitatem meam*), Ps. CXVIII, 153, *ic mid eaðmedum eall gepafige* (*humiliter*), CXXX, 3, *þa eadmedu æghwær begangað on eorðwege, up on heofenum* (*et humilia respicit in celo et in terra*), CXII, 5. *Eaðmetto*, pl. n., is used, (*wyrce him*) *his modes hus, þær he mæge findan / eaðmetta stan ungemet fæsine*, Met. VII, 33, while the reference is to the Deity in *forþæm on þære dene drihten selfa / þara eaðmetta earfast wunigað*, 38.

391. The Latin *misericordia* is often expressed by *milds*, *miltis*, f., a term which is generally applied to the Deity. As supposedly pertaining to man we encounter it in *on merefaroðe miltse gecyðan*, And. 289, while *No he hine wið monna miltse gedælde, / ac gesynta bæd sawla gehwylcre*

⁸ Compare Kahle, I, pp. 413-14.

⁹ The unchanged reading of the MS

occurs Gu. 302. An adjective often found is *milde*, really liberal, frequently applied to God. It is also used of man, as, *sumum he syleð monna milde heortan*, Gifts 108, *kyninge, kystum god, clæne and milde*, Chr. V, 23, probably in the religious sense, since it refers to Eadweard, (who) *sende soþfæste sawle to Criste*, 2. The judge tells the blessed, *Ge þas earnedon, þa ge earme men / worulðþearfende willum onfengun / on mildum sefan*, Cr. 1350-2. In Az. 149 the three youths are called *milde mæsseras*. Of Beowulf it is claimed, though probably in a profane sense, that he was *wyruldcyninga, / manna mildust*, 3182, and Moses is called *manna mildost* Ex. 549. *Mildheort* is hardly ever used of man, though we find it in *þæt man si mildheort mode soðfæst (misericordiam et veritatem)*, Ps. LXXXIII, 12. *Manþwære*, L. *mansuetus*, is rarely applied to man. We note, *þam manþwærum syleð mære hæl* (*exaltabit mansuetos in salutem*), Ps. CXLIX, 4, in the same sense, *milde mode and manþwære (mansuetos)*, CXLVI, 6, while it is said of Beowulf, *manna mildust and mon [þw] ærust*, 3182.

392. The idea expressed by L. *patientia* would have been repugnant to the Germanic heathen mind. Only gradually could such a virtue take hold among a fierce and vindictive people. OE. uses *geþyld*, f., in order to render *patientia*. Thus we find the admonition, *Ðys dogor þu geþyld hafa / weana gehwylces*, Beow. 1395, further, (*Forgif þu me*) *geþyld and gemynd þinga gehwylces, / þara þu me, soðfæst cyning, sendan wille / to cunnunge*, Prayer IV, 22, *Sum gewealdenmod / hafað in geþylde, þæt he þonne sceal*, Gifts 71, *Sum geþyld hafað, / fæstgongel ferð*, 79, *he minre geþylde þingum wealdeð (quoniam ab ipso patientia mea)*, Ps. LXI, 5, *he geþyldum bad* (the saint), Gu. 886. The adjective *geþyldig* is even rarer than the noun. We note, *þeowfæst and geþyldig* (Abraham), Gen: 2662, *Eom ic eaðmod his ombiehthera, / þeow geþyldig*, Gu. 572. *Mōðgeþyldig* is found in *Ða wæs gemyndig mōðgeþyldig / beorn*, And. 981.

393. *Abstinencia* is once rendered by *forhæfdnes*, namely *þa man mæg . . . mid) forhæfdnessum heonon adrifan* (gluttony, etc.), Exhortation 46.

II. QUALITIES

394. Here a number of terms may conveniently be treated, such as certain virtues, etc., qualities of the pious and faithful, which are ascribed not so much to any particular persons as representing a class, but rather to them as the adherents of God and Christ and as members of the heavenly kingdom. The apostles, patriarchs, saints, and the blessed in Heaven are all represented, and need not be treated separately, since all come under the heading of the faithful, and similar qualities are ascribed to them.

395. *Godsæd*, n., really God's seed, is encountered in the sense of piety, *gode in godsæde* (three youths in the fiery furnace), Dan. 90. *Folc godes*,

Cr. 764, *Cristes folces*, El. 499. The Christians conceived as the flock of Christ we find in *þin eowde*, Cr. 257.

396. Not seldom the faithful are called the chosen ones, *Criste gecorene*, Jul. 605, *cempan gecorene*, *Criste leoƿe*, Gu. 769, *bærndon gecorene*, / *gæston godes cempan*, Jul. 16-17, *gæstas gecorene*, Ph. 593, *þa gecorenan*, Cr. 1635, *his þa gecorenan*, Dox. 42, etc.

397. Closely connected with the idea just mentioned is that of purity. Sometimes terms for both appear in the same sentence. We note, *clæne and gecorene Cristes þegnas*, L. Prayer III, 53, *clæne and gecorene* (Juliana), Jul. 613, *sawla soðfæste song ahebbað*, / *clæne and gecorene* (the blessed), Ph. 541, *þine þa gecorenan wesan clæne and alysde* (*liberentur dilecti tui*), Ps. CVII, 5.

398. Cleanliness is often ascribed to the faithful. *þa clænan folc* (at Judgment), Cr. 1223, *hu þu þec geþyde* / . . . *on clænra gemong*, Jul. 420, *hwa in clænnisse / lif alifde*, Judg. 62-3, *clænum heortum*, 33, *þa ðe heortan gehygd healdað clæne* (*qui ambulant in innocentia*), Ps. LXXXIII, 13, *þær his sawl wearð / clæne and gecostad*, Gu. 506-7. We have not seldom such terms as *synna lease* (Juliana), Jul. 614, *leahtra leasne* (Guthlac), Gu. 920, *wer womma leas* (Martinus), Men. 209, *leahtra clæne* (the blessed at the Judgment), Ph. 518, etc.

399. *Hālig* is very frequently employed. We note here only, *þone halgan heap* (apostles in Heaven), Ap. 90, *gæsta halig*, Gu. 1033, *gæsthaligne in godes temple*, 1122, both passages referring to Guthlac, *gæsthalge guman*, Panther 21, *gæsthaligra*, Gu. 845.

400. *Soðfæst*, the L. *rectus* or *justus*, occurs often. *Sangere he* (David) *wæs soðfæstest*, Ps. L. 6, *soðfæste men*, Panther 66, Sat. 307, *Him þa soðfæstan on þa swiðran hond / mid rodera weard reste gestigað*, Sat. 611, *eallra soðfæstra*, Met. XX, 272, *soðfæstra sib*, Dox. 4, *soðfæstra / . . . mod*, Jul. 325-6, *soðfæstra sawle*, Gu. 539, similarly 762; *þær soðfæstra sawla motan / . . . lifes brucan*, And. 228. We have also *healdan heora soðfæstnysse symble mid dædum* (*faciunt justitiam in omni tempore*), Ps. CV, 3.

401. We have also such terms as *wærfæst*, applied to Lot Gen. 2596, *halig þær inne / wærfæst wunade* (Juliana), Jul. 238, *wærfæstne haeleð* (Andrew), And. 1273, *dōmfæst*, for instance, *domfæstra dream*, Gu. 1056, *ārfæst*, as, *Sum bið ārfæst*, Gifts 67, *ārfæstnes* twice in the sense of piety (*pietas*, 110, 135), Doom 219, 268, *æfæst*, thus, *ehteð* (devil) *æfæstra*, Sermon Ps. 28, 35, *þæt we æfæstra / dæde demen*, Gu. 497, etc.

402. *Æfremmende* occurs Jul. 648, *ryhtfremmende* Ph. 632, the gen. pl. Jul. 8, while the keeping of the commandments is often mentioned, of which

we note only a few expressions. The general statement *gif ge gehealdað halige lare* is found Ex. 560, etc., *læstan*, to obey, to do, is used frequently, as in *hu ic læste well*, Ps. CXVIII, 12, etc., *Swa þu læstan scealt*, Gen. 509, etc., *læston larcwide*, And. 674, *þæt hie his lare læston georne*, 1653, *þæt æ godes ealle gelæste*, Dan. 219, etc. *Æfnan* in practically the same sense as *læstan* is found a number of times, thus, *þæt heo his wisfæst word wynnum efnan* (*ad faciendum ea*), Ps. CII, 17, *soðe domas sylfe efnan* (*custodiunt iudicium*), CV, 3.

III. GOOD WORKS

403. During the Middle Ages special emphasis was placed upon good works, and this doctrine of the Church has left a deep impression in OE. poetry. Time and again we are met with the claim that good works will be rewarded by eternal salvation.¹⁰ Exhortation 12-15 we have mentioned, *eac opera fela / godra weorca glengað and bringað / þa soðfæstan sauwle to reste / on þa uplican eadignesse*, though here prayer, love, and hope are also enumerated in connection with almsgiving. In order to express the specific religious meaning, *weorc*, like Greek *ἔργα* and Latin *opera*, has to be modified. This was done in the example just quoted by *gōð*, similarly in *þæt we to þam hyhstan hrofe gestigan / halgum weorcum*, Cr. 750. *Dæd* is also used. Thus, *Crist ealle wat / gode dæde*, Judg. 68, *geleanað lifes waldend / . . . / godum dædum*, 87, further, *hu hi fore goddædum glæde blissiað*, Cr. 1287, *þæt we motun her mereri / goddædum begietan gaudia in cela*, Ph. 669, and *þæt he godra mæst / dæda gefremme*, 462-3.

404. Among good works a very prominent place was accorded the giving of alms. The OE. word is *ælmyse*, *ælmesse*, f., cognate with OFris. *ielmisse*, OS. *alamósna*, ON. *almusa*, OHG. *alamuosan*,¹¹ the common Teut. type **alemosna* or **alemosina* going back through popular L. **alimosina* to L. *eleēmosyna* and Greek *ἐλεημοσύνη*. The word is encountered a number of times in OE. poetry, one small piece treating especially of alms, bestowing the highest praise upon this good work. *For worulde weorðmynda mæst / and for ussum dryhtne doma selest*, the author exclaims Alms 3-4, and as to the results, (*Efne swa he mid wætre þone weallendan / leg adwæsce, þæt he leng ne mæg / blac byrnende burgum sceððan*, 5-7) *swa he mid ælmessan ealle toscufeð / synna wunde, sawla lacnað*, 8-9. Such a man is said to have *rume heortan*, 2. It is also claimed, *þæt se hæfde are on eorþrice, se þe ælmyssan / dælde domlice drihtnes þances*, Charm I, 36-7. *Þonne he ælmessan earmum dæleð*, Ph. 433, is mentioned as an effective antidote against *nipa gehwam*, 451, and it is said of the monks, *sellað*

¹⁰ Compare Judgment and Heaven in the next chapter, 410 and 420.

¹¹ Note discussion of *alms* in NED., Pogatscher, *Lautlekre*, 38, 74, and for further references see his index, p. 210.

almessan, Gu. 48. Exhortation 9 enumerates *seo ælmessylen* among the good works that bring the soul to a blessed rest, while lines 32-3 exhort, *syle ælmessan oft and gelome / digolice*, and similarly Dan. 587, *syle ælmýsan, wes earmra hleo*. While Gifts 67 simply states, *Sum bið arfæst and ælmesgeorn*, Exhortation 2-3 is more insistent, *gif þu wille þæt blowende rice gestigan, / þanne be þu eadmod and ælmesgeorn*.

405. Among other good works fasting held a prominent place in the Mediaeval Church. The OE. word is *fæsten*, n., the L. *jejunium*. In the poetry it is encountered only a few times, namely, *fæsten lufiað*, Gu. 780, said of monks or hermits, and *þa* (namely gluttony, etc.) *man mæg mid fæstenum / and forhæfdnessum heonan adrifan*, Exhortation 45. The other examples are found in the *Psalms*, *þonne ic minum feore fæsten gesette (et operui in jejunió animam meam)*, LXVIII, 10, and *Me synt cneowu swylce cwicu unhale for fæstenum (Genua mea informata sunt a jejunió)*, CVIII, 24. The verb *fæstan*¹² is also rare. It is said of Christ, *he fæste feowertig daga*, Sat. 667, and the body is addressed, *Fæstest ðu on foldan and gefyldest me / godes lichoman, gastes drynces*, Soul. 145. In the sense of *jejuniis expiare*¹³ we encounter it in *þonne hie woldon sylfe / fyrene fæstan*, Dan. 592.

406. We may mention also *swencað hi sylfe* (mortify themselves), Gu. 778, referring to monks, while in reference to withdrawing from one's kin we have the threatening attitude of the devils toward St. Guthlac, (*gif he eft ne wolde*) *his sibbe ryht / mid moncynne maran cræfte / willum bewitigan*, Gu. 168-70.

¹² Goth. *fastan*, OFris. *festia*, OHG. *fasten*, ON. *fasta*.

¹³ *Sprachschatz*. See also *Bibl.* II, p. 507.

CHAPTER XII

THE FUTURE LIFE

407. Germanic heathenism was not without definite notions about a future life, developed especially among the Scandinavians.¹ However, it cannot be our object to enter into the discussion of this subject here. Suffice it to say that we know scarcely anything as to the views held by the heathen Anglo-Saxons, while the evidence at hand seems to indicate that they had very vague ideas about the matter.²

I. JUDGMENT DAY AND PURGATORY

408. We may fittingly begin our discussion of the future life with the Day of Judgment or the Day of Doom. The term for judgment is *dōm*, m., from OTeut. **domoz*, appearing in OFris. and OS. as *dōm*, OHG. *tuom*, ON. *dōmr*, Goth. *doms*.³ The OE. word is found in *ðonne dryhten sylf dom geseceð*, El. 1279, *Ic ondræde me eac dom þone miclan (judiciique diem . . . magnum*, 8), Doom 15, and in many other passages. The particulars of the Last Judgment need not be entered into here, since that has been done sufficiently elsewhere⁴ and is only remotely connected with our subject. A few of the more important phases, however, will appear in our discussion. *Ic þone ærest ealra getreowe, / flæscas on foldan on þa forhtan tid*, Creed 55-6 runs, rendering the L. *Carnis resurrectionem*. By *þa forhtan tid* the Day of Doom is meant, to which two entire poems are devoted, and which furnishes a fruitful theme in several other pieces, notably so in *Phenix* and *Christ*. Though Germanic mythology knows of the end of the world, the *Ragnarøk*, etc., a day of judgment in the Christian sense was unknown,⁵ and in OE. as well as in the other Germanic dialects, the

¹ Grimm, *D.M.*, I, 259 ff., II, 682 ff., Golther, *Handbuch*, 289 f. 313 ff., 471 ff., Kahle, I, 387, 421 ff.

² Lingard, *History and Antiquities*, p. 42: "Of a future life their notions were faint and wavering; and if the soul were fated to survive the body, to quaff ale out of the skulls of their enemies was to be the great reward of the virtuous: to lead a life of hunger and inactivity, the endless punishment of the wicked"; Hunt, *Church History*, p. 13: "The mysteries of life and death exercised the mind of the English, and their ideas of a future life appear to have been confused and to some extent gloomy."

³ For a discussion on the Judgment Day in OHG. compare Raumer, pp. 406-9, in ON. Kahle, I, 422-3, II, 153.

⁴ See especially W. Deering, *The Anglo-Saxon Poets on the Judgment Day*, also G. Grau, *Quellen und Verwandtschaften der älteren germanischen Darstellungen des jüngsten Gerichts*, and Kläber, *Anglia*, XXXV, pp. 263-5.

⁵ Note Deering's rather daring statement, p. 83: "In the darkest days of their heathendom, the Germanic tribes believed in a destruction of the world, in a Judgment after death, in a Hell, in a Heaven."

term for it had to be especially created. In OE. it is *dōmdæg*, the L. *dies iudicii*, Gr. *ἡμέρα κλοῦews*, while OHG. and ON. translate the Latin expressions in various ways, though like OE., OHG. has also *tuomtag*. As occurrences of the term we may cite, *ær he domdages dynn gehyre*, Sal. 272, *on þam domdæge*, Soul 96, *worpað hine deofol / on domdæge*, Sal. 26, *on domdæge*, Sat. 600, Rood B, 105, *æt domdæge*, Cr. 1619, 1637. *Dōmes dæg*, OHG. *tuomes tag*, also occurs, as for instance, *oð domes dæg*, Beow. 3069, *ær domes dæge*, Met. XXIX, 41, and *domes dages dyn*, Sal. 324.

409. Kennings for the Day of Judgment are not infrequently used. It is the terrible, great, greatest, famous day, the grim, hard time, etc. And on that terrible day, *þonne eall monna cynn / se ancenneda ealle gesamnað*, Soul I, 50-1, when according to L. Prayer III, 95, *heofonwaru* and *eorðwaru*, *helwaru þridde* are present. *Gemōt*, the assembly, meeting, is therefore mentioned, so Judg. 36, *þæt biþ þearlic gemot*, Soul 153 telling of *gemotstede manna and engla*. We hear also of *meðel*, the assembly or judicial meeting, *æt meðle*, And. 1436, *æt þam mæple*, Ph. 538, *on þam meðelstede*, Ex. 542. Once we have *þing*, Cr. 927, and once also *seonop*, Ph. 493.

410. Christ is generally conceived of as the judge; though judgment is also ascribed to God, e.g., Ex. 541-2, and to the Trinity, to the latter for instance Jul. 723-9. As to Christ, we have among other statements, *Ac hwa demeð ðonne dryhtne Criste / on domes dæge, ðonne he demeð eallum gesceaftum?* Sal. 334-5, *þonne Crist siteð on his cynestole, / on heahsetle heofonmægna god, / fæder almihtig: folca gehwylcum / scyppend scinende scrifeð bi gewyrhtum*, Cr. 1217-20, etc., etc. Christ is on his judgment seat, *domsetle drihtnes (tribunal, 62)*, Doom 123, *on heahsetle (sublimis in alto, 59)*, 118. One law or standard of judgment obtains for all, *þær hæfð ane lage earm and se welega (et miser et dives simili ditione timebunt, 81)*, Doom 163. We are told, *Crist ealle wat / gode dæde*, Judg. 67-8, and the decision is rendered according to the works of men, *scrifeð bi gewyrhtum*, Jul. 728, *after dædum deman wille*, 707, *þæt gehwylc underfo be his dædum æt drihtne sylfum (judicium ut capiat gestorum quisque suorum, 61)*, Doom 121, *sceal bearna gehwylc mid lice and mid sawle leanes frigan / ealles þæs þe we on eorþan ær geworhtan / godes oppe yfles*, Judg. 40-43, etc., etc. The people are divided into two parts, the chosen and the cursed, each to receive its reward, *þar man us tyhhað on dæg twegen eardas, / drihtenes are oððe deofles þeowet*, L. Prayer III, 97-8, etc.

411. The subject of purgatory or the purgatorial fire, the doctrine of which was first expressly formulated by Gregory the Great,⁸ may receive

⁸ Dial. IV, 39: "*de quibusdam levibus culpis esse ante iudicium purgatorius ignis credendum est.*" *Enc. Brit.*

a brief treatment here.⁷ Though in OE. poetry the purgatorial fire is several times described or alluded to, it differs in important respects from the doctrine that came to be accepted by the Church of Rome.⁸ Excepting *Elene*, the statements are not as clear and explicit as we might wish them to be. In *Judgment* the earth is consumed by fire, though the idea as a purgatorial element in regard to man does not appear. More definite are the statements in *Phenix*. Having spoken of the fire before, the author continues, *þonne þeos woruld / scyldwyrccende in scome byrneð / ade onaled*, 501 ff., *Fyr bið on tyhte, / æleð uncyste*, 525-6, *Beoð þonne amerede monna gæstas, / beorhte abywde þurh bryne fyres*, 544-5. Especially clear and detailed are the statements in *Elene*. The poet in 1278 speaks of *tionleg nimeð*, and with 1285 the detailed description begins. On the Day of Judgment the people are divided into three groups. The *soðfaste* are uppermost in the fire and least affected, 1288-94, the *synfulle* . . . / *mane gemengde* are in the middle, *in hatne wylm*, 1294 ff., while the third part, *awyrgeðe womsceaðan in þæs wylmes grund, / lease leodhatan lige befasted*, 1298-9, are in the grip of the fire, from whence they are thrown *in helle grund*, 1304. The other two divisions are purged, *hie asodene beoð, / asundrod fram synnum swa smæle gold*, etc., 1207-8, *swa bið þara manna ælc / ascyred and asceaden scylda gehwylcre, / deopra firena þurh þæs domes fyr*, 1311-13. Though this description leaves nothing to be desired as regards clearness of statement and as to the purging process, no special term for purgatory has as yet been adopted. Later the Latin word is taken over.

II. HEAVEN

412. After the Day of Judgment the righteous enter Heaven, there to dwell forever with God and the angels in never-ending bliss. The idea of a future happy state was of course not foreign to the Germanic heathen mind, as the mythology sufficiently shows,⁹ but with the advent of Christianity this future blissful state received a more definite and significant importance.

413. The OE. term for Heaven is *heofon*, *heofun*, m., cognate with OS. *heðan*.¹⁰ The word is very frequent in the poetry, and there seems to be a

⁷ Compare Becker, *Mediaeval Visions*, pp. 69-73, the Anglo-Saxon Purgatory.

⁸ Purgatory in the Anglo-Saxon poets commences and ends on the Judgment Day. For the sources see Becker, *Mediaeval Visions*, pp. 72-3, Cook, *Anglia*, XV, pp. 9-20, his edition of *Christ*, p. LXIX f., Grau, *Quellen und Verwandtschaften*, p. 15 ff., etc.

⁹ Grimm, *D.M.*, II, p. 682 ff. Golther, *Handbuch*, 289 f., 313 ff.

¹⁰ *NED.*: "Ultior etymology unknown"; as to the relation between the words in the Teutonic dialects, it says: "The LG. **heðana*-, **heðuna*-, was app. an entirely different word from Goth. *himins*, ON. *himinn*, . . . OHG. *himil* . . . ; at least no connexion between them can, in the present state of our knowledge, be assumed." But see Kluge, *Englische Studien*, XX, pp. 354-5. A bibliography will be found in Falk-Torp, under *himmel*. For Heaven in OHG. compare Raumer, p. 409 ff., in ON. Kahle, I, 423-4, II, 154-5.

preference for the plural forms, probably not uninfluenced by the Latin use. We note the rendering in L. Prayer, *Halig fæder, þu þe on heofonum eardast*, I, 1, *þu ðe on heofonum eart (qui es in celis)*, II, 2, *Ðu eart on heofonum hiht and frofor (Qui es in celis)*, III, 11. Otherwise the plural is also extremely common, e.g., *fæder on heofonum, þær us eal seo fæstnung stondeð*, Wand. 115, *þa hyhstan on heofonum eac / Cristes þegnas*, Cr. 282, *heofonas secan*, And. 977, *Guðlac sette / hyht in heofonas*, Gu. 406, etc., etc.

414. Regarding the situation, condition, and details concerning Heaven a great deal of material is found in OE. poetry, but our discussion will include only a few of the more important aspects of the subject. As a convenient summary we quote from Deering's essay:¹¹ "Heaven is, then, in short an idealized, yet concrete and definite kingdom somewhere above the earth, a bright and beautiful landscape with spreading, green fields, dotted with cities, planted with waving fruit-trees and fragrant flowers: in a narrower sense a city, the hereditary stronghold, as it were, of the Eternal King, the happy home of his followers. The mild and generous Prince of Heaven sits upon His throne in His hall, is mindful of the welfare of His people and dispenses to them the rich gifts of His presence, His grace and love, while His devoted followers surround His throne and with becoming reverence express their gratitude and faithful allegiance in glad songs of praise. The good not only enjoy the presence and blessings of God, the fellowship of the angels, the light and glory and beauty of their heavenly home, but are also free from every torment of hell, from every care and sorrow and suffering of earthly life. And these joys of heaven are eternal."

415. Several times Heaven is called *neorxna wang*,¹² a term generally applied to Paradise or the Garden of Eden. Thus we read, *and in gefor* (namely the thief) *þa ænlican geatu / neorxnawonges mid nerigende*, Doom 63-4, where the Latin has *portas paradisi apertas*, 32. *Sigefæstne ham / neorxna wang*, Men. 150-1, also refers to Heaven, while the description in And. 102 ff. closely resembles that of the Garden of Eden, *þe is neorxna wang, / blæda beorhtost, boldwela fægrost, / hama hyhtlicost haligum mihtum / torht ontyned*, which characterizes it sufficiently when compared with

¹¹ Page 69. For an extended description compare p. 62 ff.

¹² The etymology is doubtful. Grein, *Sprachschatz*: "Sollten somit nicht die ags. *neorisan*, *neirzan*, *neorzan*, geradezu identisch sein mit den nordischen Nornen, . . . und *neorxna wang nympharum pratum* bedeuten?" See O. Ritter, *Anglia*, XXXIII, pp. 467-70, who proposes **Ercan suna*, **Ercsuna* (sons of the earth). R. Imelmann, *Anglia*, XXXV, p. 428, quotes These III of his diss. on the *Menology*, Berlin, 1902: "Das anlautende *n* in ae. *neorxnawang*, 'Paradies,' ist nicht stammhaft oder rest eines selbständigen wortes, sondern erklärt sich aus der häufigen stellung von *neorxnawang* nach einem auslauts-*n*." See also Krapp's *Andreas*, p. 85, note to line 102.

the Garden of Eden, Ph. 395 ff., Cr. 1390 ff., Gen. 170 ff., 210 ff., 854, 889, etc.

416. Heaven is above the earth, as is gathered from such terms and phrases as *upheofen*, Sat. 167, etc., *þa heahnisse heofena kyninges*, Prayer III, 35, as also from statements such as *up secan him ece dreamas*, / *on heanne hrof heofona rices*, Dan. 441-2, *þæt we eaðe magon upcund rice / forð gestigan*, Wond. 34-5, etc. It is often called a kingdom, for instance, *on heofonrice heahgetimbro*, Gen. 739, similarly El. 621, Cr. 1246, etc.; *ða halgan duru heofona rices*, Sal. 37, *fæder ricé*, Cr. 475, 1345, Soul 140, etc. Furthermore it is spoken of as a city, *þeodnes burg*, Cr. 553, *to wuldres byrig*, Jul. 665, *to þære beorhtan byrg*, Cr. 519, similarly El. 821, etc.; *in þa halgan burg*, Gu. 784, *to Hierusalem*, 785, *godes ealdorburg . . . / rodera ceastre*, Rid. 60, 15-16. We find also, *heahgetimbru*, / *seld on swegle*, Gu. 556-7, *þone sele*, Judg. 92. Regarding the details may be mentioned, *heofonstolas*, Gen. 8, *rodorstolas*, 749, etc. The throne of God or Christ is referred to a number of times, *hehselda wyn*, Sat. 43, *heleð ymb hehseld*, 47, *ymb þæt halge hehseld godes*, Ph. 619, *ymb þæt hehsell*, Sat. 220, *ðu on heahsetle / ecum ricsast* (God), Met. IV, 2, *on heahsetle* (Christ), Cr. 555, 1218, *gæsta gifestol* (Christ), 572, *on þam halgan stole*, Gen. 260, *þonne Crist siteð on his cynestole*, Cr. 1217, while it is said that the rebellious angels tried *þrymcýning þeodenstoles / ricne beryfan*, Moods 62-3.

417. Of the various kennings¹⁵ we note further, *wuldres wynland*, Moods 65, *on engla eard*, 74, similarly Cr. 646; *wuldres eard*, 1203, *upeard*, Gu. 1051, *on ecne eard*, 1155, with which may be compared *awo to ealdre eardfast wesan*, 758; *ðas heofoncundan / boldes*, Gu. 54-5, *beorhtne boldwelan*, And. 524, Ap. 33, etc., *lifwela*, 49, *to eadwelan*, Gu. 1091, (*brucan*) *eces eadwelan*, El. 1315, *eðel*, the hereditary home, Gu. 38, etc., *beorht eðles wite*, Cr. 1347, *engla epel*, 630, etc., *epellond*, Gu. 628, *to þam uplican / eðelrice*, And. 119-20, *on ecne geard*, Gu. 1241, *friðgeardum in*, Cr. 399, *sio friðstow*, Met. XXI, 16, *wynsum stow*, 18, etc.

418. Heaven is a home, e. g., *On heofenhome halig drihten his heahsetle hror timbrade* (*Dominus in caelo paravit sedem suam*), Ps. CII, 18, *heofonhamas healdest* (*in coelis*), CXXII, 1, etc.; of the Virgin Mary it is said that she sent *þa beorhtan lac / to heofonhome*, Cr. 292-3. We note also, *ham in heofonum*, Gu. 69, *heofonlicne ham*, Rood B, 148, *deoran ham*, Gu. 40, *in þam ecan ham*, Cr. 305, *in þam æþelan ham*, 350, *þone mæran ham*, And. 227, *þone clænan ham / eaðmedum upp*, 978.

419. The dwelling with God and the angels is called *lif*, the L. *vita*, Rood B, 126, etc., while the rendering of L. *vita aeterna* recurs time and again in *ece lif*, Creed 57, Ap. 38, 73, Gu. 33, 97, etc., *eces lifes*, Cr. 1052,

¹⁵ Compare Bode, *Kennings*, p. 74, Rankin, IX, p. 51 ff.

eadig on þam ecan life, 1428. It is further described, *bettre lif*, Gu. 751, *winsumre lif*, Ap. 20, *þæt leohte lif*, Ph. 661. Heaven was thought of as radiant with light, *heofones leoht*, Sermon Ps. 28, 44, *dryhtnes leoht*, Gu. 555, *wuldres leoht*, Ap. 61, *leoht unkwilen*, 20, *þæt leohte leoht*, Cr. 592.

420. The blessings of Heaven were considered the reward for battles well fought, *wigges læn*, El. 824, *hafað nu ece lif / mid wuldorcining wiges to leane*, Ap. 73-4. Even a reward for the Virgin Mary is not forgotten, *hæfde nergend þa / fægere fostorlean fæmnan forgolden / ece to ealdre*, Men. 151-3. Undue emphasis is laid upon works, and the theme never seems to weary the poets. Of the many examples encountered we note a few. *Ær earnode eces lifes*, Cr. 1052, *earniað on eorðan ecan lifes, / hames in heahþu*, Gu. 767-8, *þonne ðu gecearnast, þæt þe bið ece lif, / selust sigeleana seald in heofonum*, El. 526-7, *him womdæde witan ne pencað / for earnunge ecan lifes*, L. Prayer II, 25-6, *hæfð nu lif wið þan / mid wuldorfæder weorca to leane*, Men. 146-7; *sigorlean in swegles wuldre*, Jud. 345, *sigorlean*, Gu. 1344, etc., *to sigorleanum*, Cr. 1590, *þonon wuldres leoht / sawle gesohte sigores to leane*, Ap. 61-2, *weorca wuldorlean*, Gu. 1347, *wuldorlean weorca*, Cr. 1080, *Ceapa þe mid æhtum eces leohtes*, Exhortation 34, *feorhræd fremedon*, And. 1654, etc.

421. The fact that the blessed live in a state of bliss and happiness is often emphasized by the poets. A general term for salvation is *gesælð*, f., happiness, blessedness, used a considerable number of times in *Meters*, where we have the contrast between true and false happiness. We note, *sio soðe gesælð*, XII, 19, *soða gesælða*, 23, *ecan good / soða gesælða*, XIX, 31-2, and *soða gesælða, þæt is selfa god*, 36. In contrast to it we quote, *leasa gesælða*, XII, 27, *woruldsælða*, II, 10, VII, 52, 54. *Hælor*, n., salvation, is thrice used in *Juliana*, *ahwyrfen from halor*, 327, similarly 360; *hyge from halor*, 440. The saved are *gesælig*, blessed, a term also applied to Christ, for instance in *þær he gesælig sibban eardað / ealne widan feorh wunað butan ende*, Cr. 438, to the saved, *þæt gesælige weorud*, 1249, *gesælgum*, 1652, 1660, *gesælige sawle*, Sat. 296, *gesælig / mines eþelrices eadige neotan*, Cr. 1461, while *Ea la, se bið gesælig and ofersælig / and on worulda woruld wihta gesæligost*, Doom 246-7, renders *Felix o nimium! semperque in saecula felix*, 124. *Gesæliglic* is also encountered, *meaht and gefea / swiðe gesæliglic sawlum to gielde*, Cr. 1079. The noun *gesælignes* is found only once in poetry, *ac þær biþ engla dream, / sib and gesælignes and sawla rast*, Cr. 1677. *Eadig*, L. *beatus*, *felix*, is common. We note only, *eadig*, Cr. 1497, *eadige sawla*, Sat. 653, *þonne he soðfæstra sawla lædeð, / eadige gastas on uprodor*, Ex. 544, etc., etc. *Wælig*, rich, is not so common; we note, *welig in heofonum*, Cr. 1496.

422. The Anglo-Saxon poets never tire of pointing out the joys and blessings of Heaven, transferring their ideas of worldly happiness to the

heavenly abode. To designate the joy, *drēam*, m., is often employed. This word had the 'primary meaning of noisy joviality,'¹⁴ which according to Ferrell,¹⁵ Grimm refers to "the *jubilum aulae*, that ecstatic state of halfdrunkenness in which the comrades sat together in peaceful circle, told stories and drank." We note as the more characteristic occurrences, *ecne dream*, Soul 154, *dream unhwilen*, El. 1231, *halige dreamas*, Sat. 680, *hluttre dreamas / eadge mid englum*, Cr. 1246, *in þam uplican engla dreame*, 102, *engla dreames*, 1343, *in wuldres dream*, Gu. 1278, etc., *swegles dreamas*, And. 809, *swase swegldreamas*, Cr. 1349, *gæstlice goddream*, Gu. 602, *heofon-dreamas*, Soul 105, *on sindreamum*, Ph. 385, *folc gelædan / in dreama dream*, Cr. 580, *agan . . . / dreama dream mid dryhtne gode / a to worulde, a buton ende*, Sat. 314.

423. *Symbel*, n., banquet, reminding one of the festal board in the meadhall, with its gayety and conviviality, is also used a few times to express the heavenly joys. Thus, *him is symbel and dream / ece unhwylen eadgum to frofre*, Wonders 96, *þær is blis mycel, / dream on heofonum, / þær is dryhtnes folc / geseted to symle, þær is singal blis*, Rood B, 139-41.

424. Of other characterizations a considerable number occur, as for instance *gefēa*, which is very frequent. We note, *ecan gefean*, Gu. 1052, etc., *upne ecne gefean*, Sat. 199, *wynsum gefea*, Cr. 1253, *þam fægrestan / heofonrices gefean*, Gu. 808-9, etc. *Blis* is also extremely common, e.g., *þær is hyht and blis*, Cr. 750, *sib and bliss*, Gu. 1055. However, these and similar terms, as also compounds of *heofon*, of which some have been mentioned, need no further discussion.

III. HELL

425. The Germanic tribes were not without views about a place for the departed spirits, in the North even the idea of punishment having developed.¹⁶ And when Christianity made its advent with its doctrine of hell, the Germanic tribes did not find it difficult to assimilate the new ideas, while the old name was kept. In OE. the term is *hel(l)*, f., OFris. *helle*, *hille*, OS. *hellja*, *hella*, OHG. *hella*, ON. *hel*, Goth. *halja*, all from the Teut. stem **haljā*, literally the coverer up or hider. The ON. ideas of *hel* in the extant writings are clearer than those of the other peoples.¹⁷ There we meet also Hel, daughter of Loki and a giantess, as the goddess of the infernal regions.

¹⁴ Kent, *Teutonic Antiquities*, p. 17.

¹⁵ *Teutonic Antiquities*, pp. 16-17. Grimm's words, *Andreas und Elene*, Cassel, 1840, p. XXXVII, however, are: "Nichts ging ihm über den *seledream*, *jubilum aulae*, A. 1656, wo im friedlichen kreise gewohnt, erzählt und gezecht wurde."

¹⁶ Grimm, *D.M.*, I, p. 259 ff., Golther, *Handbuch*, p. 471 ff.

¹⁷ For a discussion of hell in ON. see Kahle, I, pp. 424-5, II, 155-6, in OHG. Raumer, pp. 414-16.

426. In OE. poetry *hel* is common, and only a few characteristic examples need be given here, *hu heh and deop hell inneheard seo, / grim græfhus*, Sat. 707, *þonne hel nimeð / wærléasra weorud*, Cr. 1613, *on þa hatan hell*, Gen. 331, similarly 362, etc. As *hel* translates Latin *infernus*, the Vulgate rendering of Greek *ᾗδης* and the Hebrew *הַיָּוֵז*, its meaning is of course wider than a place of punishment. We note, *astigon heo on helle heonan lifgende (descendant in infernum viventes)*, Ps. LIV, 14, *þu mine sawle swylce alysdest of helwarena hinderþeostrum (eruisti animam meam ex inferno inferiori)*, LXXXV, 12, *is min feorh swylce to helldore hylded geneahke (vita mea inferno appropinquavit)*, LXXXVII, 3.

427. Hell certainly receives its share of attention at the hands of OE. poets, who seem to be especially anxious to describe this dreary place adequately. While it is outside of our task to paint a picture of hell, and we shall mention only a few main points in the following discussion, it may be convenient to give the Anglo-Saxon poets' conception of hell by citing Becker:¹⁸ "Hell is a dark pit under the earth, incalculably immense in area, shrouded in eternal darkness. The principal torment is that of fire, but the flame is black, and burns without light. Side by side with extreme heat is the torment of cold; storms of wind, hail, and frost sweep down from the four corners of hell. Frightful monsters, dragons, serpents, bloody eagles, people the awful depths, and dragons guard the entrance. The sinful souls are bound down with fetters, suffering the utmost agonies of mind in addition to those of the body. Consumed with bitter remorse and despair, they must remain thus eternally, without hope of ever being released from their sufferings or of gaining the bliss of the righteous, which they are forced to look upon."

428. Though the definite location of hell is not given, it is below, under the earth. We read, *(Etne) þæt mon helle fyr hateð wide*, Met. VIII, 54, *helle seceð / . . . grundleasne wylm / under mistglome*, Whale 45-7, *ðone deopan wælm, / niðær undær nessas in ðone neowlan grund / grædige and gifre*, Sat. 30-32, similarly Gu. 535, etc. As Heaven is a kingdom, so also hell, in which Satan rules, *helwarena cyning*, Jul. 544, etc. Sal. 106 speaks of it as *ðæs engestan eðelrices*, with which may be compared *in þam engan ham*, El. 920, etc. However, it seems to *blac bealowes gast, þæt he on bolme stod, / . . . þæt þanon wære / to helle duru hund þusenda / mila gemearcodes*, Sat. 721-4. But, as Becker¹⁹ has pointed out, "the terms of spaciousness are to be interpreted literally, whereas those of narrowness permit of no other than a figurative interpretation," so that he would take *enge* in

¹⁸ *Mediaeval Visions*, pp. 63-4. Compare also p. 58 ff., Deering, 48 ff., Klaeber, *Anglia*, XXXV, 265 ff.; for kennings, Bode, 75 f., Jansen, 29 f., Rankin, IX, 54 ff. For a discussion of the sources of the characteristics of hell see Deering, p. 57 ff., Becker, 11 ff., 54 ff., Abbt-meyer, 16.

¹⁹ *Mediaeval Visions*, p. 58.

the sense of oppressive. Hell is also called *mægburg*, Har. 91, *of feonda byrig*, Cr. 569, *helwara / burg*, Rid. 56, 6-7, *deaðsele*, Gu. 1048, while similar terms are frequent. The doors of hell are often mentioned, as, *he helle duru / forbræc and forbegde*, Sat. 467, *behliden helle duru*, El. 1229, *æt heldore*, Gu. 531, etc. It is stated, *Æce æt helle duru dracan eardigað*, Sat. 98, while influenced by the preceding figure Whale 76 and 78 reads, *þa grimman goman / . . . / helle hlinduru*. With this may be compared *ah in helle caft / sið asette*, And. 1703, and *dreogaþ deaðcwale in dracan fæðme*, El. 765. Walls and other parts are mentioned, e.g., *helle weallas*, Har. 34, *helle floras*, Sat. 70, *hellegrund*, Soul 105, *in helle grund*, Cr. 562, El. 1304, etc.

429. Hell is the place of punishment for the devils and the damned, *in ece fyr*, / *ðær ge sceolon dreogan deað and þystro*, Gu. 606-7. As Cr. 1535-6 the condemned are committed to *forwyrd on witehus*, / *deaðsele deofles*, so this state itself is called *se eca deað æfter ðissum worulde*, Met. X, 70. *Wite*, n., or *hellewite*, is often used to denote punishment, just as we find *helliwtizzi* in OHG., *helliwtii* in OS., and *helviti* in ON., a rendering of the Latin *supplicium inferni*. We note, *helle witum*, Soul 32, *in wita forwyrd*, Sermon Ps. 28, 10, *synna to wite*, Cr. 1623, *heardes hellewites*, Gen. 303, *alysdest / fram hæfnyde hellewites*, L. Prayer II, 36. We find further, *þæt witescræf*, Sat. 691, *þæt witehus*, 628, and *þa wyrrestan witebrogan*, El. 931, etc.

430. References to the agencies of punishment are often found, especially to the fire, *grim hellefyr*, *gearo to wite*, Cr. 1270, *under helle cinn in þæt hate fyr*, / *under liges locan*, 1620-21, *þæt ge wærnyssse / brynewylm hæbben*, *nales bletsunga*, Gu. 643-4, *in fyrbæðe / walmum biwrecene wraplic andlean*, Cr. 831-2, *weallendne lig and wyrma slite / bittrum ceastum*, 1251-2, etc., etc. The poets seem anxious not to omit a detailed description of the sufferings the doomed have to undergo, or, in the words of Deering:²⁰ "Having thus drawn such frightful pictures of the horrors of hell, the poets might have left their readers to imagine the sufferings of the damned, but the opportunity of impressing these dreadful scenes was too good to be lost, and they cannot resist the temptation to add a few more strokes to their already horrible pictures and tell us again and again of the physical and mental tortures of this eternal punishment."

431. The condemned are often called the cursed, as, *Astigað nu awyrgde*, *in þæt witekus*, Sat. 628, *Farað nu awyrgde willum biscyrede / engla dreames on ece fir*, Cr. 1520-1, etc. *Wærnis* (*weargnes*), is once used in the sense of damnation, *þæt ge* (devils) *wærnyssse / brynewylm hæbben*, *nales bletsunga*, Gu. 643. Among other kennings for the doomed we note, *unsælge*, Cr. 1288, the devil being called *unsælig*, Jul. 450, the Jews, *hæleð*

²⁰ Page 54 f.

unsælige, And. 561, and *hæleð hynfuse*, 612; we find *helfuse men*, Cr. 1124, while the Mermedonians are called *hæleð hellfuse*, And. 50. For the devil and the doomed we have also such terms as *grundfusne gæst gode orfeorme*, Moods 49, *firenfulra fæge gæstas*, Gu. 532, *þæt fæge folc*, Cr. 1518, *synfulra weorud*, 1229, *firensynnig folc*, 1379, *unsyfre folc*, 1232, etc., etc.

432. A considerable number of compounds of *hel* are found in the poetry. Some of them have appeared in our discussion, while a number are included in the poetical list. Others also occur, but offering nothing characteristic, they need not be discussed.

POETICAL WORDS

Here are listed those exclusively religious terms which occur in poetical texts only. Kennings have been admitted only when special circumstances and a distinctly religious connotation warranted it. If a word occurs only once, the exact reference has been given. If the use is limited to a single poem where it is found more than once, the title only is added.

- Ādfȳr, sacrificial fire, Ex. 398.
 ādloma, one crippled by fire, devil, Gu. 884.
 æbebod, command, Ps.
 æboda, preacher, Gu. 909.
 æcræft, knowledge of law, religion.
 æfenlāc, evening sacrifice, Ps. CXL, 3.
 æfremmende, pious, religious, Jul. 648.
 æfyllende, pious, Cr. 704.
 ælærende, teacher of the law, religion, El. 506.
 ælcræftig, omnipotent, Met. XX, 38.
 ærcwide, prophesy ? Moods 4.
 ærendgäst, angel, Gen. 2296.
 æriht, code of law or faith, El.
 æwita, counsellor, El. 455.
 āgilpan, to exult in, Soul 166.
 āglæccræft, evil art, And. 1362.
 ānboren, only begotten.
 ānbüend, hermit, Gu. 59.
 ānseld, hermitage, Gu. 1214.
 ārgifa, giver of benefits, Gifts 11.
 āðloga, perjurer, Cr. 1605.

 Bēntīd, prayer time, Men. 75.
 berēotan, to bewail, Har. 6.
 bernelāc, burnt offering, Ps. L. 123.
 bismelrēas, blameless, Cr. 1326.
 blædgifa, giver of prosperity, And.
 brægdwīs, crafty, Gu. 58.
 brynegield, burnt offering. Gen.

 Ceargēst, sad spirit, devil, Gu. 364.
 circnytt, church service, Gifts 91.
 culpa or culpe, fault, sin, Cr. 177.
 cūsc, modest, virtuous, Gen. 618.

 Dægweorðung, feast day, El. 1233.
 dēaðbēam, deathbringing tree, Gen. 638.
 dēaðfīren, deadly sin, Cr. 1207.
 dēaðsele, hell.
 dēofolcund, diabolical, Jud. 61.
 dēofoldæd, fiendish deed, Dan. 18.
 dēofolwītga, wizard, magician, Dan. 128.
 drenclōd, deluge.
 drūt, beloved one, Doom 291.
 dryhtendōm, majesty, glory, And. 999.

 Ēadfruma, author of happiness, Cr. 532.
 ēadgifa, giver of prosperity, And. 1292.
 ēadgifu, gift of blessedness, Jul.
 ealh, temple.
 eallbeorht, resplendent.
 eallhālig, all-holy, Ps. CXXXI, 8.
 eallmiht, omnipotence, Ps. CXXXV, 12.
 ealwalda, all-ruling, almighty, God, Christ.
 earfoðcynn, depraved race, Ps. LXXVII, 10.

(ge)edbyrdan, to regenerate, Soul
101, Exeter text.

edwitspreca, scoffer, Gu. 418.

efenēadig, equally blessed, Hymn
21.

efeneardigende, dwelling together,
Cr. 237.

efenēce, co-eternal, Cr.

eftlēan, recompense, Cr. 1100.

ēgorhere, flood, deluge, Gen.

endelēan, final retribution.

engelcund, angelic, Gu. 72.

engelcynn, race or order of angels.

ēðelboda, land's apostle, native
preacher, Gu. 976.

Fācendæd, sin, crime, Ps. CXVIII,
53.

fācengeswipere, deceit, Ps.
LXXXII, 3.

fācensearu, treachery.

fācenstafas, treachery, deceit, Beow.
1018.

fācentācen, sign of crime, Cr. 1566.

felameahtig, most mighty.

felasynnig, very guilty, Beow. 1379.

feohgifre, avaricious, Wand. 68.

fēondæt, eating things sacrificed to
idols, Ps. CV, 24.

feorhræd, salvation, And. 1654.

ferhðlufu, heartfelt love, And. 83.

fifmægen, magic power, Sal. 136.

firenbealu, transgression, Cr. 1276.

firencreaft, wickedness, Jul. 14.

firednæd, wicked deed, crime.

firenfremmende, committing sin, Cr.
1118.

firengeorn, prone to sin, sinful,
Cr. 1606.

firesynnig, sinful, Cr. 1379.

firenweorc, evil deed, sin, Cr.

firenwyrccende, sinning, sinful, Ps.

firenwyrhta, evil doer, Ps.

forescyttels, bolt, bar, Cr. 312.

fortyhtan, to seduce, El. 208.

fortyllan, to seduce, Cr. 270.

friðoscealc, angel, Gen.

frōwe, woman, Doom 291.

frumgesceap, creation of the world,
Cr. 840.

frumscyld, original sin, Sal. 445.

fulwihtttīd, time of baptism, Men.
11.

fulwihtðēaw, rite of baptism, Met.
I, 33.

fýrcloam, band forged in the fire, in
hell, Sat. 39.

fýrngidd, ancient prophesy, El. 542.

fýrnsceaða, devil, And. 1346.

fýrnsynn, sin of old times, Jul. 347.

Galdorword, magic word, Rim. 24.
gālmōd, wanton, licentious, Jud.
256.

gārtorn, fighting rage, Sal. 145.

gāstbona, devil, Beow. 177.

gāstcund, spiritual, Gu. 743.

gāstcwalu, pains of hell, Gu. 651.

gāstcýning, God, Gen. 2883.

gāstgeniðla, devil, Jul. 245.

gāstgewinn, pains of hell, Gu. 561.

gāsthālig, holy in spirit.

gāstlufu, spiritual love, Az.

gāstsunu, spiritual son.

gēocund, preserver, Savior.

geongerdōm, discipleship, Gen.

geongerscip, allegiance, Gen. 249.

gifnes, grace, favor, L. Prayer III.

glēdstede, altar, Gen.

goddreām, joy in Heaven, Gu.

godegyld, idol, Ps. CV, 17.

godgim, heavenly jewel, El. 1113.

godsæd, piety, Dan. 90.

godscyld, sin against gods, impiety,
Jul. 204.

godscyldig, impious, Gu. 834.

grandorlēas, guileless, Jul. 271.
 grornhof, sad home, hell, Jul. 324.
 grundfūs, hastening to hell, Moods
 49.

Hælubearn, Savior, Christ, Cr.
 hæðencyning, heathen king, Dan.
 54.

hæðencynn, heathen race, Gen.
 2546.

hæðenstycr, heathen calf, Ps. CV,
 17.

hæðenweoh, heathen sacrifice, Jul.
 53.

hālor, salvation, Jul.

hālswurðung, thanksgiving for
 safety, Ex. 581.

handgift, wedding present, Creed
 18.

hēahblis, exultation, Ps. CXVIII,
 111.

hēahboda, archangel, Cr. 295.

? hēahcāsere, Christ, L. Prayer III,
 60.

hēahfrēa, high Lord, Cr.

hēahgæst, Holy Ghost, Cr. 358.

hēahgesceap, divine destiny, Beow.
 3084.

hēahgod, most high, God, Ps. LVI,
 2.

hēahheort, proud, Dan. 540.

hēahmiht, high authority, great
 might, Ps. CL, 2.

? hēahnamŕ, most exalted name, L.
 Prayer III, 18.

heargtræf, idol temple, Beow. 175.

heargweard, temple warden, priest,
 And. 1124.

hellbend, bond of hell, Beow. 3072.

Some terms quoted with hell
 possibly not compounds.

hellcræft, hellish power, And. 1102.

hellcwalu, pains of hell, Cr. 1190.

helledor, gate of hell.

hellebealu, hell bale, Cr. 1427.

helleceaf, jaws of hell, And. 1703.

hellecinn, hellish race, Cr. 1620.

helleclamm, hellbond, Gen. 373.

helledēofol, devil.

helledor, gate of hell, Har. 87.

helleduru, gate of hell, El. 1229.

helleflōr, floor of hell, Sat. 70.

hellegāst, spirit of hell.

hellegrund, abyss of hell.

hellegryne, horror of hell, Sat. 433.

hellehæft, prisoner of hell, Sat. 631.

hellehæfta, prisoner of hell, Beow.
 788.

hellehæftling, prisoner of hell.

hellehēaf, wailings of hell, Gen. 38.

hellehinca, hell-limper, devil, And.
 1171.

hellehūs, hell-house, Gu. 649.

hellenfō, torments of hell, Gen. 771.

hellescealc, devil, Sat. 133.

helleŕegn, devil, Gu. 1042.

hellfīren, hellish crime, Partridge 6.

hellfūs, bound for hell.

hellgeþwing, confinement in hell,
 Gen. 696.

helltræf, devil's temple, And. 1691.

helltrega, hell-torture, Gen. 73.

helrūna, hellish monster, Beow. 163.

heofonbeorht, heavenly bright.

heofonbyme, heavenly trumpet, Cr.
 949.

heofondēma, heavenly ruler, Sat.
 658.

heofondrēam, joy of Heaven.

heofonduguð, heavenly host, Cr.
 1655.

heofonengel, angel of Heaven.

heofonhālig, holy and heavenly,
 And. 728.

heofonhām, heavenly home.

heofonhlāf, bread of Heaven, Ps. CIV, 35.

heofonlēoht, heavenly light, And. 974.

heofonmægen, heavenly force.

heofonsetl, throne of Heaven, Doom 277.

heofonstōl, throne of Heaven, Gen. 8.

heofonðrēat, heavenly company, Sat. 222.

heofonweard, God, Gen.

heofonwuldor, heavenly glory, L. Prayer II, 12.

heortlufu, heart-love, Dox. 29.

heterūn, charm which produces hate, Rid. 34, 7.

hildedēofol, demon, Ps. XCV, 5.

hinderðeostru, nether darkness, Ps. LXXXV, 12.

hospcwide, insulting speech, El. 523.

hūslbearn, communicant, Gu. 531.

hūslwer, communicant, Gu. 768.

hygeclæne, pure in heart, Ps. CIV, 3.

hygefrōfor, consolation.

hygetrēow, fidelity, Gen. 2367.

hygeðryð, pride, insolence, Gen. 2238.

hyhtgifa, giver of hope, El. 851.

hyhtlēas, unbelieving, Gen. 2387.

hyhtwillā, hoped for joy, Sat. 159.

hyhtwyn, joy of hope, Jud. 121.

Ingebed, earnest prayer, Ps. LXXXVII, 2.

inwitstæf, wickedness, evil, Ps.

Leahatorcwide, blasphemy, Jul. 199.

lēohtfruma, source of light.

līfrēa, Lord of life, God.

līfruma, source of life, God.

lifweard, guardian of life, Christ, El. 1035.

ligcwalu, fiery torment, hell, El. 296.

lofmægen, praise, Ps. CV, 2.

lofsum, praiseworthy, Gen. 468.

lustgryn, snare of pleasure, Soul 23.

lygenword, lie, Gen. 699.

lygesynnig, lying, false, El. 898.

lygewyrhta, liar, Sermon Ps. 28, 11.

Mægenwundor, striking wonder, Cr. 927.

mānfæhðu, wickedness, Gen. 1378.

mānfolm, evil doer, Ps. CXLIII, 8.

mānforwyrht, evil deed, sin, Cr. 1095.

mānfrēa, lord of evil, devil.

mānfremmende, sinning.

māngeniðla, evil persecutor, And. 916.

māngewyrhta, sinner, Ps. LXXVII, 38.

mānhūs, home of wickedness, hell, Ex. 535.

mānsceat, usury, Ps. LXXI, 14.

mānschild, crime, fault, sin, Hymn 23.

mānschildig, criminal, guilty, Gen.

mānwamm, guilty of stain, Cr. 1280.

mānword, wicked word, Ps. LVIII, 12.

mānwyrhta, evil doer, sinner, Ps.

merciest, sea-chest, ark, Gen. 1317.

metod, fate, Creator, God, Christ.

micelmōd, magnanimous, Ps.

CXLIV, 3.

misgedwild, error, perversion, Jul. 326.

mōdgeþyldig, patient, And. 981.

morðorhof, place of torment, El. 1302.

morðorhūs, house of torment Cr. 1625.

morðorlēan, retribution for sin, Cr.
1612.

morðorscyldig, guilty, And. 1599.

Nēodlof, zealous praise, Ps.

CXLVIII, 12.

nēodweorðung, zealous honoring,

Ps. CXLII, 11.

nīðloca, place of torment, Har. 64.

nīðsynn, grievous sin, Sat. 180.

Ofersælig, excessively happy, Doom
246.

ofersælð, excessive pleasure, Met.
V, 27.

oferwealdend, over-lord, God, El.
1235.

onblōtan, to sacrifice, Gen. 2933.

(Ge)palmtwīgan, deck with palm
branches, Sal.

Regolfæst, adhering to monastic
rules, Men. 44.

reðehygdig, right-minded, Alms 2.

reðeman, usurer, Ps. CVIII, 11.

rodorcyning, king of Heaven.

rodorstōl, heavenly throne, Gen.
749.

Sāwelcund, spiritual, Gu. 288.

scīngelāc, magical practices, And.
766.

scuccgyld, idol, Ps. CV, 26.

scyldfrecu, wicked craving, Gen.
898.

scyldwreccende, avenging sin, Cr.
1161.

scyldwyrccende, evil doing.

sealmfæt, in 'on sealmfatum' ren-
dering L. 'in vasis psalmi,' Ps.
LXX, 20.

selfsceaft, not begotten, Gen. 523.

sigebeām, cross.

sigebearn, Christ.

sigedēma, victorious judge, God.

sigetiber, sacrifice for victory, Ex.
402.

sigortifer, offering for victory, Jul.
255.

snytrohūs, house of wisdom, taber-
nacle, Ps. LXXVII, 60.

sōðcyning, God.

sōðfæder, God, Cr. 103.

suslbona, devil, Sat. 640.

suslhof, place of torment, Creed 32.

sweglcyning, king of Heaven.

sweglwuldor, heavenly glory, Gu.
1160.

sweglwundor, heavenly wonder, Gu.
1292.

sygegealdor, victory-bringing
charm, Charm VIII, 6.

synfāh, sin-stained, Cr. 1083.

synrūst, canker of sin, Cr. 1321.

synsceaða, sin-stained wretch, sin-
ful outrager.

synscyldig, wicked, Doom 168.

synwracu, punishment for sin.

synwyrccende, sinning.

Tēonsmið, evil-doer, devil, Gu. 176.

tīrfruma, price of glory, Cr. 206.

trēowlufu, true love, Cr. 538.

trēowrāden, state of fidelity, Gen.
2305.

Ðrymcyme, glorious coming, Gu.
1230.

ðrymcyning, king of glory, God.

ðrymsittende, dwelling in Heaven.

ðrȳðcyning, king of glory, God,
And. 436.

Unbealu, innocence, Ps. C, 2.

unbēted, unatoned, Cr. 1312.

ungeblētsod, 'non habentes signaculum Christi,' Jul. 492.

ungelēaf, unbelieving, Ps. LXVII, 19.

unholda, devil, Cr. 762.

unhwilen, eternal.

unrihtdōm, iniquity, Dan. 183.

unrihtfēoung, unrighteous hate, Met. XXVII, 1.

untwēod, undoubting, And. 1242.

upeard, Heaven, Gu. 1051.

upengel, heavenly angel.

Wægðrēat, deluge, Gen. 1352.

wæln, deluge, Gen. 1350.

wærloga, traitor, liar, devil.

wamcwide, shameful speech, curse, blasphemy.

wamdæd, deed of shame, crime.

wamful, impure, shameful, sinful, bad.

wamsceaða, sin-stained foe, devil.

wamscyldig, sinful, criminal, Gen. 949.

wamwyrcente, worker of sin, Cr. 1093.

weargtræf, home of the damned, hell, El. 926.

weolme, choice, Cr. 445.

wigsmið, maker of idols, Ps. CXIII, 12.

wigweorðung, idol worship, idolatry.

wilboda, angel, Gu. 1220.

witehrægl, penitential garb, sackcloth, Ps. LXVIII, 11.

witescræf, hell, Sat. 691.

wiðerbroga, devil, Cr. 564.

wliteandæt, confession of splendor, Ps. CIII, 2.

wōhfremmend, evil doer, Met. IX, 36.

worulddrihten, Lord of the world, God, Met. XXIX, 1.

woruldgītsera, coveter of worldly things, Met. XIV, 1.

wrōhtscipe, crime, Gen. 1672.

wrōhtsmið, evil doer.

wuldorcynning, God.

wuldordrēam, heavenly rapture.

wuldorfæder, Father of Glory.

wuldorgāst, angel, Gen. 2912.

wuldorhama, garb of glory.

wuldorlēan, glorious reward.

wuldormāga, heir of Heaven, Gu. 1076.

wuldormago, heir of Heaven, Gu. 1267.

wuldormicel, gloriously great, L. Prayer III, 94.

wuldorweorud, heavenly host, Cr. 285.

wuldorword, glorious word, L. Prayer III, 46.

wynpsalterium, psalm of joy, Ps. LVI, 10.

wynrōd, blessed cross, Sal. 235.

wyrdstæf, decree of fate, Gu. 1325.

wyrmgeard, abode of serpents, Sal. 468.

wyrmsele, hell, Jud. 119.

Yfelsæc (eofulsæc), blasphemy, El. 524.

yrreweorc, work of anger, Sat. 399.

A few remarks on the terms thus listed by us will not be without interest. Of the 343 words 261 occur only once, 23 are confined to one poem, being found more than once, while 59 occur in more than one poem. Regarding the distribution as to poems, we note that 44 are found exclusively in Christ, 16 in Elene, and 14 in Juliana, in all 74 for Cynewulf; in addition, a number of terms are peculiar to the three poems. As to the

other chief poems, the exclusive occurrence of terms is as follows, 40 in Psalms, including Psalm L (Cottoniana), 34 in Genesis, 27 in Guthlac, 19 in Andreas, 10 in Christ and Satan, 8 in Beowulf, 7 in Meters, 6 in Solomon and Saturn, 5 in Daniel, 5 in Doomsday, 4 in Judith, and 4 in Exodus, while none is found in Phenix.

LOAN WORDS

Abbot, L. *abbatem*
 ælmesse, L. *eleemosyna*

Amen, L. *Amèn*
 apostol, L. *apostolus*
 bisceop, L. *episcopus* or Gr. *ἐπίσκοπος*
 cantic, L. *canticum*
 (Cherubin), L.
 cirice, Gr. *κυριακά*

Cr st, *crist*, L.
 crīsten, L.
 crīstnian, L.
 culpa L. *culpa*
 dēofol, L. *diabolus* or Gr. *διάβολος*

dīacon, L. *diaconus*
 drūt, OF. *drut*
 drȳ, Celtic ?!
 earc, earce, L. *arca*
 (Ebrēas), L.
 engel, L. *angelus* or Gr. *ἄγγελος*

(Gabriël), L.

(Israël), L.
 (Judēas), L.
 (Lucifer), L.
 mæsse, L. *missa*
 mæssere, L.

HYBRIDS

ælmesgeorn
 ælmessylen

apostolhād
 bisceophād

circnyt
 ciricsōcn

dēofolcund
 dēofoldæd
 dēofolgild
 dēofolwītga
 hildedēofol

drȳcræft

engelcund
 engelcyn
 hēahengel
 heofonengel
 upenge

hēahcāsere, L. *Caesarem*

hlāfmæsse

manna, L. manna

martyr(e), L. martyr

martyrdōm

martyrhād

(Michaël), L.

munuc, L. monachus

mynster, L. monasterium

palmtrēow, L. pa'mus

(ge)palmtwīgan, L.

pāpa, L. papa

Pater Noster, L. Pater Noster

pentecosten, L. pentecoste

prēost, L. presbyter

psalterium, L. psalterium

regol, L. regula

reliquias, L. reliquiae

sācerd, L. sacerdos

wynpsalterium

regolfæst

sācerdhād

ealdorsācerd

salletan, L. psallere

sanctus, sanct, L. sanctus

(Sātanus, Sātan), L.

scrīfan, for-, ge-, L. scribere

scrift, L. scriptum

sealm, L. psalmus

seonoð, L. synodus

(Seraphim), L.

sealmfæt

sūðportic, L. porticus

tempel, L. templum

ymen, L. hymnus

TITLES AND ABBREVIATIONS

I. Titles and Abbreviations Referring to the *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie, Volumes I-III, by Grein-Wuelker*

- Alma. Bibl. III, p. 181.
 And. Andreas. II, pp. 1-86.
 Ap. Fates of the Apostles. II, 87-91.
 Az. Azarias. II, 491, 493, 495, 497, 516-520.
 Beow. Beowulf. I, 149-277.
 Cædmon's Hymn. II, 316-317.
 Charm I-VIII. Bibl. I, 312-330.
 Chr. I-V. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. I, 374-388.
 I. On the Victory of Æthelstan at Brunanburh.
 II. Edmund.
 III. Eadgar.
 IV. Capture and Death of Ælfred.
 V. Eadweard's Death.
 Cr. Christ. III, 1-54.
 Creed (Hy. X in Grein's Sprachschatz). II, 245-249.
 Dan. Daniel. II, 476-515.
 Deor. Deor's Lament. I, 278-280.
 Doom. Be Domes Dæge. II, 250-272.
 Dox. Doxology (Gloria in Bibl., Hy. IX in Grein's Sprachschatz). II, 239-244.
 Durham. I 391-392.
 El. Elene. II, 126-201.
 Ex. Exodus. II, 445-475.
 Exhortation (Ermahnung zum christlichen Leben in Bibl.). II, 273-276.
 Fates. Fates of Men. III, 148-151.
 Gen. Genesis. II, 318-444.
 Gifts. Gifts of Men. III, 140-143.
 Gn. Cot. Gnostic Verses, Cotton MS. I, 338-341.
 Gn. Ex. Gnostic Verses, Exeter Book. I, 341-352.
 Gu. Guthlac. III, 55-94.
 Har. Harrowing of Hell. III, 175-180.
 Hymn (Hymnus in Bibl., Hy. VIII in Grein's Sprachschatz). II, 224-226.
 Instructions. A Father's Instructions to His Son. I, 353-357.
 Invocation (Aufforderung zum Gebet in Bibl.). II, 277-279.
 Jud. Judith. II, 294-314.
 Judg. The Last Judgment. III, 171-174.
 Jul. Juliana. III, 117-139.
 L. Prayer. Lord's Prayer I-III (Hy. V-VII in Grein's Sprachschatz). II, 227-238.
 Maldon. Battle of Maldon. I, 358-373.
 Maxims (Bruchstück eines Lehrgedichts in Bibl., Hy. XI in Grein's Sprachschatz). II, 280-281.
 Men. Menology. II, 282-293.
 Message. Husband's Message. I, 309-311.

- Met. Meters of Boethius. III, 247-303.
 Moods. Moods of Men. III, 144-147.
 Panther. III, 164-166.
 Partridge. III, 170.
 Ph. Phenix. III, 95-116.
 Prayer I-IV (Hy. I-IV in Grein's Sprachschatz). II, 211-223.
 Ps. Psalms. III, 329-476.
 Pa. L. Pa. L. (Cottoniana). III, 477-482.
 Rid. Riddles. III, 183-238.
 Rim. Riming Poem. III, 160-163.
 Rood. Dream of the Rood. II, 114-125.
 Ruin. Ruined Burg. I, 298-301.
 Run. Runic Poem. I, 331-337.
 Sal. Salomon and Saturn. III, 304-328.
 Sat. Christ and Satan. II, 521-562.
 Seaf. Seafarer. I, 290-295.
 Sermon Ps. 28 (Predigtbruchstück über Ps. 28 in Bibl.). II, 108-110.
 Soul. Soul and Body, Vercelli text, unless otherwise noted. II, 92-107.
 Wald. Waldere. I, 11-13.
 Wand. Wanderer. I, 284-289.
 Whale. III, 167-169.
 Wid. Widsith. I, 1-6.
 Wonders. Wonders of Creation. III, 152-155.

II. Other Abbreviations

A few abbreviations from the *NED*. are also used. Others will be interpreted without difficulty.

- Bibl. Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie, Grein-Wuelker.
 B.-T. Bosworth-Toller, Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.
 Dichtungen. Dichtungen der Angelsachsen, Grein.
 Goth. Gothic.
 Gr. Greek.
 Grimm, D. M. Deutsche Mythologie, 4. Auflage.
 Kahle, I. Die altnordische Sprache im Dienste des Christentums. I. Teil: Die Prosa.
 Kahle, II. Das Christentum in der altwestnordischen Dichtung.
 L. Latin.
 MacG. MacGillivray, The Influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of Old English.
 NED. New English Dictionary.
 OE. Old English.
 OFris. Old Frisian.
 OHG. Old High German.
 ON. Old Norse.
 OS. Old Saxon.
 OTeut. Original Teutonic.
 Rankin, VIII and IX. A Study of Kennings in Anglo Saxon Poetry in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Volumes VIII and IX.
 Raumer. Die Einwirkung des Christentums auf die Althochdeutsche Sprache.
 Sprachschatz. Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter, Grein, 2. Auflage.
 W.-W. Wright-Wuelker, Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies.

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VITA

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